# THE Mennonite Quarterly Review

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# EDITORIAL

Dr. Robert Friedmann's article on "The Devotional Literature of the Swiss Brethren 1600-1800" presents the first systematic study in Mennonite historiography of the literature of the Swiss Mennonites. The results of the study are unusually significant, for Dr. Friedmann not only catalogs and describes the books themselves, but sets them in the background of currents of theology and piety which flowed around and over the Swiss and South German Mennonites during the centuries. Thus the result is not only, nor even primarily, a literary study, but rather a study in the history of Swiss Mennonite piety. The article is a chapter in Dr. Friedmann's forthcoming book on *Mennonite Piety through the Centuries.*

It is not generally known that Theodor Fontane, one of the leading German novelists of the late nineteenth century, used extensive Mennonite material from the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in his novel *Quitt.* Nor have scholars known how Fontane, who never set foot on American soil, secured his material for a description of Mennonite mission life in that region. Professor A. J. F. Zieglschmid of Northwestern University, presents in this issue a careful study of this problem in his article, "Truth and Fiction and Mennonites in Theodor Fontane's novel *Quitt,*" uncovering Fontane's sources. The Review hopes to publish in the near future other studies on Mennonites in German and American literature.

War brings crises of various kinds to the nations engaged in it, and it also brings crises to Christians who try to maintain the Christian ethic in the midst of war. This is most true of those Christian groups, like the Mennonites, who hold a position of complete non-participation in war, and are accordingly faced with the gravest decisions when the nation of which they are a part makes claims upon them for personal participation in and for financial and moral support of the war effort. War thus becomes a testing time for such groups. Will they or will they not maintain their position; will they solve without compromise the issues thrust upon them, or will they "adjust" themselves to their war environment and yield a portion or all of their precious heritage of faith; will they circumscribe or abandon their witness against the sin of war and for the way of peace and love?

The actual decisions made on these matters in times of war crisis are not only the decisions of the group but also of the individual members of the group. A Mennonite body may officially take a strong position and advise its members accordingly, but the members must still make their individual personal decisions, since the demands of the state are not made on the group, but on the individual. Most directly in the spotlight of the crisis are the young men of military age who must choose for or against army service.

Although we are still in the midst of the deciding process, the Review is happy to present in this issue an enlightening paper on the environmental factors which influence the decisions of Mennonite young men of draft age. This study is by a young Mennonite scholar, Robert Kreider, M.A., who was taken from his university studies into a Civilian Public Service camp because he had made his choice to stand by his faith, and who has accordingly had first-hand acquaintance with the young men who are making the decisions. Mr. Kreider insists that the conclusions drawn from his study are only tentative, but they are nevertheless of much significance, not only for meeting the present crisis, but for assistance in grappling with the entire problem of secularization among Mennonites so clearly set forth by Karl Baehr's study in the previous issue of the Review.

This issue of the Review also brings again the annual report by Professor Silas Hertzler of Goshen College on Attendance in Mennonite Schools and Colleges.

THE
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# THE DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE OF THE SWISS BRETHREN 1600-1800

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

The spiritual climate among the Swiss Brethren, who by 1750 were widely scattered over Switzerland, Southwestern Germany, and a part of France, was very different from the peaceful atmosphere which existed among the Mennonites in Holland and Northern Germany. Very little is known about the hidden life of the Brethren in Switzerland itself with its oppression, persecution, and, in spite of all that, its steadfast spirit.[1] In the second half of the seventeenth century an ever increasing number of families migrated into the German Palatinate, yet here too they met hatred and often persecution. Oth-

1. It is one of the many merits of *John Horsch,* the late outstanding Mennonite historian, that he discovered a hitherto completely unknown, objective and even sympathetic source about the hidden life and thought of the brethren in Switzerland (Berne) toward the end of the seventeenth century. This is a book by Georg Thormann, *Probierstein des Täuferthums,* Berne, 1693. The author was a clergyman of the Reformed State Church of the Canton of Berne. This book was rediscovered by Dr. Adolf Fluri who sent a copy to Horsch in Scottdale, Pa. See the latter's very informative articles: "The Life of the Mennonites of Switzerland, as Seen by an Opponent Two and a Half Centuries Ago," *Christian Monitor,* Scottdale, Pa., XXX, 1938, p. 360 f., and "A Notable Testimony to the Life of the Anabaptists of Switzerland," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XV, 1941, p. 276 f. and in the appendix of his *Mennonites in Europe,* Scottdale, 1942. A complete edition of this source would be of highest value. For general information see also E. Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer,* Frauenfeld, 1895, Sam. Geiser, *Die Taufgesinntengmeinden,* Karlsruhe 1931, and E. Correll, *Das Schweizerische Täufer-Mennonitentum,* Tübingen, 1925. The last title stresses more the economic side.

ers entered Alsace, which toward the end of the century had become French.[2] Between 1690 and 1710 the persecution in Switzerland came to its climax. "Amish" people as well as "Reist" folk left their homeland for new places along the Rhine valley, or for the new land beyond the sea. In the sixteenth century German Anabaptists in the Rhineland had been called "Schweizer Brüder," although they presumably were not of Swiss descent but only of the same faith as the early Swiss Anabaptists. It is very likely that during the Thirty Years' War these Rhineland German "Schweizer Brüder" died out. What were called the Swiss Brethren in this territory after 1650 were the new immigrants of Swiss stock. They knew nothing of the comparatively easy and well settled life of the Dutch and North German Mennonites. They were almost exclusively peasants, and held loyally to their old biblicistical way of life and thought. The memory of suffering in Switzerland still shadowed their life, and a grave and austere mood characterized the spirit of these new settlers. However, as time went on, gradual changes came among them also. Since they had no formulated confession of their own,[3] a part of them accepted the Dordrecht confession of faith drawn up by the Dutch Mennonites in 1632. Those in Alsace, for instance, did so as early as 1660. With the increasing contacts with Dutch Mennonites resulting from the latter's relief work and political intervention on behalf of the persecuted brethren in Switzerland and the Palatinate[4] they turned more and more (yet without being aware of it) from "Anabaptist" toward "Mennonite" positions.[5]

Although Johannes Arndt's *Wahres Christentum* (1609) and his prayerbook, *Paradiesgärtlein* (1612), had been highly esteemed among the Brethren, a real turn to the new piety as expressed in these books did not occur among Swiss brethren until the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and even then this change was by no means complete. The original literature of the Brethren was

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2. See *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* articles by Neff and Correll, "Elsass," I, 553-563.

3. The confession, *Brüderliche Vereinigung etzlicher Kinder Gottes,* Schleitheim am Randen, 1527, drawn up by Michael Sattler, was likely too short.

4. See Herman Schyn's work, very graphically described by De Hoop Scheffer in Herzog-Hauck's *Protestantische Realenzyklopädie,* 3rd ed. See also C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites,* 1941, pp. 144-149, and the passage on Benedikt Brechbill, one of the trustees of this relief work and the translator of Schabalie's *Wandering Soul,* in my treatment of the Dutch literature, *Menn. Quart. Review,* XV, 1941, p. 196.

5. Rudolf Wolkan *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* Berlin, 1903, p. 156. By "Anabaptism" is meant original Swiss Anabaptism, by "Mennonite" is meant 17th century Dutch Northwest German Mennonitism.

rather meagre. There was no chance in Switzerland to produce theological works as in East Prussia or in Hamburg-Altona. No confession of faith, no catechism, no sermon collection came from their midst, and as far as a need for literature of that kind arose, they had to adopt books produced by Dutch or Hamburg Mennonites. Yet they did produce several testimonies of their own, and these very testimonies were to become of lasting influence, revealing the inner strength of these simple Christian peasants. When they emigrated from their homes, they took with them as their most precious goods a few old books like the *Seven Articles of Schleitheim* (1527), the *Confession of Faith* by Thomas von Imbroich (1558) or the *Ausbund,* the cherished hymnal. But since little could be printed in Switzerland itself, most of their small literature must have been in manuscript form, like that of the Hutterites,[6] containing old and new epistles, testimonies in the agony of trials, collections of prayers and hymns. Accordingly, when in the eighteenth century they began to have this material printed, their main activity consisted in new arrangements of the old records. Yet, it is in this very editorial work that we find the material we need for studying the new mind of the church.

We do not know where the Swiss Brethren found printing opportunities. Due to the continuation of oppression and governmental interference, publications by them were by and large rather scanty and mostly anonymous, without name of place or printer. Thus it is mere conjecture—though not without reason—if we assign the books of this discussion either to Basel, the Palatinate, or to Alsace (Strasburg). Not more than five publications of distinct Swiss background have become known, and only one of them is of larger size. Here is the list:

The earliest document seems to be the *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen,* first edition 1702, second 1742. It is a very rare book in Europe, but better known in this country, thanks to an American reprint in 1745.

At about the same time (1700) a booklet of sixteen pages was printed, with one prayer and one hymn by *Hans Reist,* the well-known opponent to Jacob Ammann.

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6. See Friedmann, "Die Briefe der österreichischen Täufer," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* XXVI, 1929, p. 30 f.

By 1720 the *Send-Brieff* of 1715[7] was published, supplemented by hymns and prayers (102 pages).

Finally in 1739 the first complete Mennonite prayerbook, the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* appeared. In this case the printing place is given: Kayserslautern, in the Palatinate. It became the most widely used devotional book of the Mennonites.

Toward the end of the century, in 1786 or earlier, the *Kleines Handbüchlein, darinnen Morgen- und Abendgebeter . . . enthalten sind,* was published, apparently as a small substitute for the *Christenpflicht.*

This concludes the list as far as it could be confirmed. Several reprints round up the literary activity of the brethren: the Froschauer Bible, the *Ausbund,* and, in 1780, the German version of the *Martyrs' Mirror.* Michael Sattler's *Brüderliche Vereinigung etlicher Kinder Gottes,* the confession of 1527, also circulated here and there, and the same is true of Thomas von Imbroich's *Confessio.* The extent of reading of writings by Menno Simons and Dirk Philips remains somewhat uncertain. There are several German prints in this period, which, however, can not be positively located. No doubt, the Swiss Brethren read these authors, but according to all evidence the spread of these books was rather restricted.

Before analyzing the contents and significance of these representatives of a new type of devotional literature, we must give a short account of a remarkable emblem in two of these books which graphically reveals the very spirit of the church in the first quarter of the eighteenth century when the bitterness of all the experiences in Switzerland was still lingering in the soul of the brethren. The *Güldene Aepffel,* as well as the *Send-Brieff,* print a colophon or emblem of quite unusual and even un-Mennonite appearance[8]. The colophon consists of a circle of thirteen death's heads with the circumscription: pope/emperor/king/prince/count/baron/noble/common/peasant/rich/poor/old/young. In the square in the center of this circle we find the verse from the apocryphal book *Jesus Sirach* 14:18, *Mensch, Du musst sterben.*[9] Thus, mood and mind of the

7. See *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XIV, p. 117.

8. The *Send-Brieff* has it on the title page, whereas the *Güldene Aepffel* has it at the end of the preface. The fact that both books have the same colophon gives evidence also that they came out of the same printing office.

9. The apocryphal books in the Luther and Zürich Bibles became very popular

new settlers are movingly reflected. This picture reminds us of the different "dances of death" of the sixteenth century, the most famous of which by Hans Holbein the Younger in Basel might have been known to some Swiss Anabaptists, although these in general were not interested in pictorial expression. As far as is known, this circle of death's heads is the only drawing originating among the Swiss Brethren, and we do not know its story. When the *Güldene Aepffel* was reprinted in America in 1745, the press of the Ephrata Cloister in Pennsylvania made a fairly exact copy of this emblem and devoted to it a full page (the reverse of the first subtitle *Michael Sattlers Sendbrief*). Here it is framed by two texts, above the circle by Psalm 90:5, and below by Psalm 90:12, *Lehr uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen, auf dass wir klug werden* ("Teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom"). J. F. Sachse, who gives a good reproduction of this picture in his history of the Cloister,[10] subscribed it as follows, "An Ephrata Todtentanz (Chorea machabaeorum), emblematical symbol showing the power of death over man." He does not mention his source nor the European origin of the drawing.[11]

So much for this interesting symbol, the last sign of a waning period. In spite of the sense of the vanity of life and the imminence of martyrdom revealed by it, the feeling was growing among the Brethren that under improved circumstances the spirit would not maintain this attitude any longer, that is, it was ready to slacken. The *Güldene Aepffel* strikingly expresses this feeling when the unknown compiler in his preface concluded with these words (translated): "It is true that external peace makes the number of those who profess Christian faith to increase. But it is also true that at such times of ease for the flesh Satan insinuates to man all sorts of evil suggestions, and he is wont to approach the believer in a most subtle way. . . . So depraved is human nature that it can not endure good days of ease. Rather the soul becomes corrupt as it becomes fond of the world and the things of the world. . . ." Such was the

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among Anabaptists and Mennonites. As they are no longer found in the common editions of the King James Bible, they are relatively unknown to English nonconformists. The new English version of the book *Ecclesiasticus* renders the verse 14:18 very differently from Luther, namely, "One cometh to an end."

10. J. F. Sachse, *The German Sectaries of Pennsylvania,* 1742-1800. Philadelphia, 1900, p. 210.

11. Sachse prints on pages 235 and 237 several reproductions of the different title-pages of the *Güldene Aepffel* of 1745, but apparently overlooked the connection of his illustration on page 210 with this book.

underlying philosophy of a book composed just at the transition point between the old Anabaptism and the new Pietism. It is therefore worth while to begin our study with a careful analysis of this book.

The complete title of this first printed devotional book of the Swiss Brethren reads as follows, *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen, oder schöne und nützliche Worte und Wahrheiten zur Gottseligkeit, enthalten in VII Haupttheilen, die in diesem Buch zusammengestellet sind . . . nebst angehängten Vorreden und einem zweifachen Register* (520 pages). Its contents can be classified in two rather different groups. The first and greater part (403 pages) contains moving testimonies of five outstanding Anabaptist martyrs of the sixteenth century, namely Michael Sattler (d. 1527), Thomas von Imbroich (d. 1558), Susanne von Holtz (or, in Dutch, Soetgen van Houte) (d. 1560), Matthias Cervaes (d. 1565), and Konrad Koch (d. 1565). These documents are framed in a setting of inspired contemporaneous prefaces and postscripts. The second and smaller part (94 pages) is a reprint of the first two parts of the Van Sittert manual of 1664,[11a] that is, the German translation of the Dordrecht Confession and the prayer collection of "L. C.," both in many respects modified, enlarged and supplemented with new and hitherto unknown materials. As a whole this book represents a most valuable compilation, still worthy of study today as a stimulant to keep alive the original spirit of the great Anabaptist forefathers. There is reason to believe that once the book must have been widely circulated, as the many copies among Mennonites in this country prove. Why it so surprisingly disappeared almost entirely from European libraries, to become such an exceedingly rare book there,[12]

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11a. See *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XV, 1941, pp. 199-205.

12. Goshen College library has three copies of the first edition of 1702. The *Catalogus* of the Amsterdam Doopsgezinden library does not mention this book at all. Karl Rembert, *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich*, Berlin, 1899, mentions it twice, but without name (pp. 462 and 481). The library of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* at Weierhof has a copy of 1742 only. Goshen College library also has several copies of this second edition of 1742, which represent a somewhat puzzling and unusual way of publication. The titlepage gives the publishing year 1742, the pagination is continuous to and including part four. Part four then has a new titlepage with the inscription, "newly edited in the year of Christ 1702." Part five again has 1742 and a new pagination. Part six has 1702, but continues the previous pagination. One has the impression that the publisher had made separate prints of the single parts for people preferring smaller tracts. The second edition of the whole book did not correct the conflicting dates, putting together things as they were. This is not the only case of its kind, and makes determination of date and origin difficult. The publishing house of Von Mechel in Basel, which had most of these books in stock, especially favored the combination of such brochures and brought out combination books which easily gave the impression of being by one author or of one date.

we do not know. In America it passed through one new edition in 1745,[13] a fairly accurate reprint, but it was never re-edited or translated later on. This is to be regretted in view of its value for the preservation or revival of the old Anabaptist mind.

There can be no doubt as to the origin of this compilation. Although only Michael Sattler was a South German Anabaptist (Swiss Brethren), and Cervaes, Koch and Susanne von Holtz were Dutch Mennonites (Thomas von Imbroich was a "Swiss" Anabaptist of the Rhineland), this book could have been compiled by Swiss Brethren only. The evidence does not permit any other conclusion. We know that small books with epistolary literature of this type, containing largely *Trost- und Ermahnbriefe* of martyrs of old, had been very popular among the Swiss Brethren through the ages, and were handed down to children and grandchildren. There can therefore be no doubt as to the sources of the compilation. It is true that the (Dutch) *Martyrs' Mirror* of 1660 also contains almost the same records of the above-named five martyrs, and consequently one might argue that our book represents nothing but an extract out of this famous volume. Yet, closer scrutiny forbids such an assumption, since the *Güldene Aepffel* contains more material of the five martyrs than does the *Martyrs' Mirror*. It is safe to say that the unknown compiler did his work independently of that Dutch book. He used as sources the many circulating tracts and pamphlets mentioned above.

Let us consider these sources of our book.

There are first the *Acta* and *Letters* of Michael Sattler, which we know were collected and printed immediately after Sattler's execution in 1527 and often reprinted later on. Zwingli translated them in his *Elenchus catabaptistarum strophas* (1527) into Latin. The book was also translated into French and was attacked by Calvin in 1544. A translation into the Dutch language was made about 1560. Recently the Goshen College Library acquired a small undated old book which surprisingly turned out to be the hitherto unknown German original of this Dutch edition.[14] The same library also has one undated pamphlet of the same text presumably of late

13. Bender, H. S., *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (1929), p. 2, and Sachse, *op. cit.*, p. 234 ff.

14. See Friedmann, "The Schleitheim Confession (1527) and Other Doctrinal Writings of the Swiss Brethren in a Hitherto Unknown Edition," in *Menn. Quart. Review*, XVI, 1942, pp. 82-98.

seventeenth century origin, a booklet of thirty-six pages. It is further known that a number of Hutterite manuscript books of around 1600 contain this Sattler material.[15] These various ways of propagation give evidence that the book was known in Germany independently of Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror.*

A second tract was the no less famous confession of faith and the epistles of Thomas von Imbroich, the outstanding leader of the Swiss Brethren in the Rhineland in the middle of the sixteenth century. These materials also circulated widely as a separate book. We know this from an edict of the authorities in Berne, Switzerland, of 1692, prohibiting the books then used by Anabaptists, namely, the *Ausbund,* the confession of faith by Thomas von Imbroich, the Dordrecht confession of 1632, and the Froschauer Bible.[16] Recently, the Landis Valley Museum Library near Lancaster, Pa., purchased a rare book of late sixteenth century origin, apparently of former Mennonite possession, which was found to contain the confession, epistles, acts and hymns of Thomas von Imbroich and Soecken van Holtz in the German language with prefaces and postscripts.[17] A booklet something like this must have been the source for the corresponding section of the *Güldene Aepffel.* The Mennonites in America continued producing such publications. When, in 1742, the *Ausbund* was first published by the renowned Christoph Saur in Germantown, Pa., the confession of Thomas von Imbroich was deliberately appended to it.[18] From then on all sixteen American editions of the Ausbund contain this *Bekenntnis.*

As for Michael Cervaes and Konrad Koch, we are not as fortunate as in the earlier cases to have the source. However, there can be no doubt that a similar edition of the testimonies of the two

15. W. Köhler in the introduction to his edition of the *Brüderliche Vereinigung . . .., Flugschriften aus der Reformationszeit,* Vol. II, No. 3, Leipzig, 1908. Cf. also the edition of the same source by Heinrich Böhmer in *Lietzmann's Kleine Texte,* No. 50/51, reprint Berlin, 1933. Böhmer is the only scholar who mentions the French version, and gives the bibliography of two German prints. Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte,* Vol. XX), Leipzig, 1938 reprints also the *Acta* from a Hutterite manuscript (pp. 37-40). Very important also is the edition of the Dutch version by S. Cramer in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* Vol. V, 'S-Gravenhage, 1909, pp. 602-650. The excellent introduction, pp. 585-601, discusses the sources, but without knowing the recently discovered German copy mentioned above.

16. See *Menn. Quar. Rev.,* XIV, 1940, p. 116 and E. Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer,* Frauenfeld, 1895, p. 353.

17. See Felix Reichmann, "An Early Edition of Thomas von Imbroich," in *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XVI, 1942, pp. 99-107.

18. Bender, *op. cit.,* pp. 1 and 4. See also John Flory, *Literary Activity of the German Baptist Brethren in the 18th Century.* Elgin, Ill., 1908, pp. 305 and 315.

martyrs has existed,[19] for we find in the *Güldene Aepffel* edition of 1702 a preface and postscript of unquestionably sixteenth century origin which the Dutch *Martyrs' Mirror* does not contain.[20] These editorial writings manifest an unusually fine spirit, truly fitting to the spirit of the Cervaes letters and thus designed to aid in the promotion of the undying fire of primitive Christian faith as it was testified to by the two Brethren. The compiler of the *Güldene Aepffel* must have had a similar purpose, for he put on the separate title page of his collection of Cervaes' epistles the supplementary recommendation, ". . . welche wegen ihrer Fürtrefflichkeit zur Ehren Gottes und des Nächsten Heyl aufs Neue übersehen und aufgelegt worden im Jahre Christi 1702."

As we examine the first part of the *Güldene Aepffel,* we recognize that an old tradition is here continued and a book achieved which, by propagating documents of the highest Christian character, promotes the original Anabaptist faith and steadfastness. And this was obviously the intention of the compiler according to the short but noble preface which displays his eagerness to awaken people out of their ease and sloth, "to the march of the spiritual Israel to the promised land."

However, the compiler of 1702 might have felt that in his time, a period so radically changed from the former, these records of old would not completely suffice to this end. Consequently he added to the first part a second one, containing two sections of the Van Sittert manual, by which addition he altered essentially the character of the book. For the new material, deriving from Dutch Mennonitism of the seventeenth century, represents a quite different mind and does not match well with the first part—the story of a suffering church. In this way the book became more or less accommodated to the spiritual climate of its time, and the general process of fusion between Swiss Brethren and Dutch Mennonites, which was taking place from the end of the seventeeth century on, was furthered still more.[21] The new spirit of 1702 is also revealed to a certain extent in the title of the book, *Golden Apples in Silver Bowls, or Beautiful*

19. Unfortunately it is not mentioned in the usual reference books such as *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Mennonitisches Lexikon* and Karl Rembert, *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich.*

20. The *Martyrs' Mirror* has only ten epistles while the *Güldene Aepffel* has eleven.

21. See R. Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* Berlin, 1903, p. 156 and *passim.* However, the fusion never became a complete unification.

*and Useful Words* (sayings) *and Truths to Godliness.* In the great first age of the history of Anabaptism such phraseology would never have been accepted. The "sweet" aesthetic tinge in the wording clearly indicates the new style of life of 1702, and explains why our book hardly achieved what according to the preface was its declared aim and purpose.

How influential and significant was the *Güldene Aepffel?* This is not easy to decide. We know that only two editions appeared in Europe, in 1702 and 1742. As late as 1822 the publishing house of Von Mechel in Basel was still advertising the 1742 edition, which shows that the book was by no means a "best seller." Later on it disappeared completely for unknown reasons. Nevertheless, Christian Neff in his description of the book in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*[22] calls it a devotional book once much used in South Germany. The term *Erbauungsbuch* intimates that people read it more for the purpose of emotional satisfaction than because of a zeal for revival of an inner attitude which had more and more faded away. The obviously restricted success of the book might also suggest that sixteenth century epistles with their determined mood of Christian martyrdom did not find a lively echo in the eighteenth century. This relative failure, again, is another proof of the changed situation. In America likewise, not more than one edition (1745) could, strangely enough, be brought out.

And yet, there is no doubt that our book is among the best of the entire Mennonite literature of the middle and later period; its modest success does not correspond to the inner value of a book which still deserves our attention. An objective evaluation therefore might not be out of place at this point; it will best be achieved by a comparison with other similar books. Two works of this type suggest themselves for such a purpose: Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* (Amsterdam, 1660) and the *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* (Amsterdam, 1680). Van Braght's comprehensive work, continuing the long line of martyrs' books,[23] has quite a different motive from that of the *Güldene Aepffel.* It aims to give a historical description of the Christian martyrs since the beginning of the church, be they martyrs for the sake of adult baptism or for confessing Christ in general. In the second place, Van Braght offers a description of bap-

22. *Menn. Lex.,* II, 197.
23. *Menn. Lex.,* III, 49-53, article by Neff "Märtyrerbücher."

tism, its teaching and its practice through the ages. The documents inserted are largely illustrations given to picture the mind and life of the true children of God, contrasting the world and a worldly church. This book, fascinating as it is by its subject and wealth of material, full of excitement and tension, revealing throughout a high Christian spirit, is after all primarily an historical reader. It exerts its immense spiritual influence by presenting models of Christian life, and by proving that through all the ages there have ever been situations where martyrdom for the sake of one's faith has been inescapable.[24] Nothing of this kind was sought by the editor of the *Güldene Aepffel*, even though, as mentioned before, he prints some identical material. He was not motivated by historical interest but by a purely spiritual one: to offer to everyone "words and truths of godliness." According to the preface he wanted to promote a revival of the old spirit in a time of decline by reprinting testimonies of the past. And even though he was not fully successful, his work still remains significant. No doubt many a reader, repelled by the enormous size of the *Martyrs' Mirror,* was attracted and held by the smaller book with its concentration of attention on the conspicuous points of the heritage of the forefathers.

In 1680 another book of similar type was published in Amsterdam, the *Geistliches Blumengärtlein.*[25] It offers a very instructive and as yet unnoticed parallel, permitting a fine insight into the general frame of mind of the late seventeenth century. The analogy of both books is indeed very striking, with the one exception that the *Güldene Aepffel* was intended to be a devotional book for Mennonites, while the *Blumengärtlein* was addressed to the general range of readers in the established churches. In this case, too, an anonymous compiler was at work with rather similar material and partly similar intentions as in the case of the *Güldene Aepffel.* He collected a set of early Anabaptist writings, completely forgotten by 1680, in order to offer to German-speaking Christians a new edificatory literature of ancient origin. The need for reading ma-

24. The same is true of Van Dühren's book, *Geschichte der Märtyrer oder kurze historische Nachricht von den Verfolgungen der Mennonisten.* Königsberg (Preussen), 1787.

25. See Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der Hutterischen Täufergemeinschaften in Mähren," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* XXVIII, 1931, pp. 82 ff., and Ludwig Schwabe, "Über Hans Denck," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* XII, 1891, pp. 466-493. See also *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XIV, 1940, p. 107 f. Copies of the *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* are in Dresden, Munich, and Berlin. The *Mennonitisches Lexikon* does not mention it; neither does the Amsterdam *Catalogus.*

terial of this type was generally felt, and these lively tracts and epistles suggested themselves as meeting this need. There is no doubt that a certain kinship exists between these old documents and the new piety, and the readers of the late seventeenth century must have felt it.

But eventually the changing spirit of the age became stronger than tradition, and Mennonites turned away from the older testimonies to the more appealing contemporaneous literature of Lutheran or Reformed origin. We learn from the preface of Van Sittert's manual of 1664[25a] that there was no inhibition in that direction any longer, and we also know that there existed smaller or larger collections of non-Mennonite literature in most Mennonite families of that time. The *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* was soon forgotten, and also the *Güldene Aepffel* found decreasing interest. And wherever it was read among Mennonites, in South Germany and above all in the aloofness of colonial America (1745), it was read in a spirit distinctly different from that intended by the original writers of its contents.

In almost the same line as the *Güldene Aepffel* belongs also the beautiful, but well-nigh unknown *Send-Brieff von einem Liebhaber Gottes Worts,* written by an unknown brother in the darkness of prison in Berne, Switzerland, in the year 1715.[26] He was persecuted as an Anabaptist and sent his precious epistle to the "fellow-members of the household of faith" as a call to steadfastness and loyalty, and as an admonition to the true fear of God. It is a fairly long epistle of forty pages in print, cast wholly in the tone of the old martyrs' epistles, thus continuing the chain of ancient testimonies.[27] Did he know those earlier letters, and did he take them as a model? The *Martyrs' Mirror,* to be sure, was then available in the Dutch language only, and could not well have served as a source, but the German *Güldene Aepffel,* dating from 1702, was possibly known to the writer. The power of the *Send-Brieff,* however, comes from the strong and simple faith of a man who stands firm and does not know wavering and hesitation. Neither sentimentality such as char-

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25a. See Friedmann, "Dutch Mennonite Devotional Literature from Peter Peters to Joannes Deknatel, 1625-1753." *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XV, 1941, pp. 201-202.

26. See R. Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* p. 155 f. and Friedmann, *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XIV. 1940, p. 117.

27. The literary type of martyrs' epistles is described in Friedmann, *Briefe* (see note 6 above). Zieglschmid in *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XV, 1941, January and April issues, prints samples.

acterized his age, nor any purely intellectual theology, fill these pages. They convey only a call to faithfulness and obedience to God, offered out of the experience of suffering. *Fleisset euch allein also zu wandeln, das dem Evangelium Christi gemäss sei* (p. 7). Obedience is the great watchword of those who are more concerned for the "fear of God" than for the "bliss of salvation" (the German antithesis *Gottesfurcht* versus *Gottseligkeit*). Here is no lamentation about "suffering," for suffering is understood as the inevitable consequence of this way. The keynote of the epistle is the ever-repeated call to perseverance in following the great model of Christ Himself. *Seid steif im Herzen!* (be staunch in your heart) : that is the gist of all these admonitions out of the depths of the dungeon. What a difference between this document and all those mild and sentimental instructions which we meet among the North German and Dutch Mennonites of the time! Here is truly the genuine genius of old evangelical Anabaptism of Switzerland. As far as is known, this is its last document. It is also safe to say that this *Send-Brieff* anticipated the answer to J. J. Wolleb's remarkable critique of Anabaptism concerning the possession of the Holy Spirit, set forth in his *Conversation between a Pietist and an Anabaptist* (Basel, 1722).[28] It is quite obvious that questions of this kind cannot be decided by intellectual discussions but by testimonies only; and just such a testimony is our *Send-Brieff*.

According to the caption on page three of our book the unknown brother sent his epistle from his prison in 1715; but it was not printed until some time later, in the same printing office as the *Güldene Aepffel,* as stated earlier, very likely in Basel or in the Palatinate. We do not know the date; the title page displays besides the death's head colophon only the unusual statement, *Gedruckt im Jahr, da wahre Busz von nöthen war* (printed in the year when genuine repentance was necessary). It is interesting to note that this peculiar way of dating is not original with the editor of the *Send-Brieff,* but repeats a somewhat older model which by good chance was recently found and made known. Christian Neff reports in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*[29] a collection of 98 hymns in an old volume composed of several separate books of the time of 1696 to

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28. See *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XIV, p. 121 ff.

29. See Christian Neff, "A Hymn of the Swiss Brethren," *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* IV, 1930, p. 208.

1708; the fourth of them, containing the *Zürichlied,* bears the same end-line as our *Send-Brieff,* "Gedruckt im jar da ware busz von nöthen war." This parallel form is welcome also in providing us an insight into the spiritual climate out of which the *Send-Brieff* was born; it was the same as that of the martyrs' stories.[30]

The *Send-Brieff* itself fills less than half of the hundred pages of the book. The remainder is occupied by material supplied by an unknown editor, which substantially changes the character of the book—reminding us of the similar procedure in the *Güldene Aepffel.* This new material consists of prayers and hymns which reveal again the influence of the new era. For instance, a very fine and presumably old hymn, "Mir nach, spricht Christus unser Held," gets the new heading: "Ein christliches Vermahnlied zur Nachfolge Jesu Christi als dem Inhalte aller gottseligen Übungen." *Imitatio Christi* and *Praxis Pietatis* would seem to our understanding to be contradictory and incompatible. But the very fact that the *Send-Brieff* (*Imitatio Christi*) and the new devotional material (*Praxis pietatis*) appear here side by side allows a glimpse at the way in which religious writings were read in that time. This small book, most difficult to find in any European library, was once quite popular among Mennonites in America as is proved by the many copies which were carefully preserved in Mennonite homes and are now collected in the historical libraries in Goshen, Indiana, and Scottdale, Pa.

The next book of Palatinate origin in our line is the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* of 1739. It is a book of foremost importance and interest as it represents the first complete prayerbook of Mennonitism, truly an innovation and a symbol of the inner transition of the church.

By and large free *ex tempore* prayer was usual among Anabaptists and was one of their distinguishing characteristics in contrast with

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30. The *Zürichlied* belongs to a small but very remarkable group of martyrs' hymns originating in Switzerland. Better known are the "Landis"-hymn, the "Dürs Rüte"-hymn, and the "Haslibacher"-hymn, the latter still sung today among the Amish Mennonites. All these songs disclose the austere frame of mind of the Swiss Brethren during the seventeenth century when the genius of old Anabaptism was still much alive. The "Zürichlied" became almost forgotten, but the two other hymns were later on adopted in the *Ausbund.* See Wolkan, *op. cit.,* pp. 119 and 154. Cf. also C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites,* pp. 127-129; and E. Correll's valuable addition to Neff's article (note 29), *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* IV, 1930, p. 215 f., in which he points to the *Wahrhaftiger Bericht von den Brüdern in Schweizerland,* etc., an impressive report on Swiss martyrdom between 1635 and 1645. It was later appended to the American editions of the *Ausbund.*

the established Protestant churches. A suffering church, witnessing to a spontaneous free spirit, had no use for prescribed prayerbooks, and accordingly, no Swiss or Upper German Anabaptist ever thought of using such a type of devotional literature. The same was true also of the old Dutch or Low German Mennonites up to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. But when the Swiss Mennonite congregations in the Rhine valley gradually became settled and to a certain extent prosperous, they lost much of their original ardor and freshness in spiritual matters. Thus, the religious practices of the Protestant environment may have led them to an experiment with prayerbooks. Seemingly it was a successful experiment. The old Mennonite spirit had changed; a formalizing of religious life on the one side combined with a predilection for emotional stimuli on the other, made the use of printed prayers even more favored. In the beginning one used prayers of Mennonite origin, as for instance those in the Van Sittert manual, but later one turned also to popular Protestant prayerbooks, such as Johannes Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* or the Reformed prayerbook mentioned in Van Sittert's preface.[31] Thus a growing need was satisfied by adjustment to the pious world round about. The outstanding book of this type is the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht,* but it is neither the very first nor the last one. Unfortunately the subject of prayerbooks among Mennonites has never been recognized by historians and their story has never been written.[32] It will be the subject of a later discussion in which also the *Kleines Handbüchlein* of 1786 will find its proper treatment.

So much for the survey of the devotional literature of the Swiss Brethren in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The picture, however, of the religious life and piety of their congregations would not be complete without a glimpse at the reprints of older devotional books which were included in the rather restricted reading of Mennonite homes of that time.

Swiss Brethren were wont to use a particular edition of the Holy

31. See *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* XV, 1941, p. 201.

32. The fine article "Gebet" by Jacob Kröker in the *Menn. Lex.,* II, 37-41, refers only to the struggle about silent or loud prayer among the Dutch congregations but does not mention the prayer-book issue at all. A real help are the articles by Neff in the *Menn. Lex.,* "Agenda" and "Formularbücher." They contain much new or hitherto unnoticed material. Of course, prayerbooks and formularies are not the same, and, though there exist quite a number of printed prayerbooks, only the lesser significant formularies have found a treatment in the *Lexikon.*

Scriptures, namely, the so-called Froschauer Bible, named after its first printer in Zürich, Christoph Froschauer.[33] In general, this edition of the Holy Scriptures is a Swiss version of the German translation, prepared by the Reformed ministers of Zurich, in the main by Leo Jud. The prophets, however, are presented in the famous rendering by Hans Denck and Ludwig Hetzer (1527). The New Testament appeared as early as 1524, and the entire work was finished by 1529, three years earlier than Luther's complete Bible of 1532. It is a marvelous small folio volume with woodcuts and long introductions to each chapter.[34] The title page of the Old Testament bears the date MDXXV, the year of the very beginning of Anabaptism in Zurich. In 1531, and again in 1536, appeared a new edition in large folio, which differs greatly from the first edition. The introductions have been dropped, the language is somewhat changed and clearer, and the woodcuts are new, larger, and most attractive. For the Book of Revelation the already mentioned great Swiss artist Hans Holbein the Younger contributed twenty-one unique woodcuts, expressly prepared for this edition; it is possible that some of the other woodcuts also come from his hand.[35] The title page of this edition is elaborately ornamented with pictures from the Genesis story and printed in red and black. This Froschauer Bible of 1531 (1536) is said to be the most beautiful of all the Zurich Bibles, dear also to Mennonite families and preserved here and there to the present time.[36] It was often reprinted and found a wide circulation. In 1692 the Bernese authorities issued very severe orders against this *Täuferbibel* which was to be confiscated.[37] Reprints in Basel, which trickled through, aroused anger in Berne, and the Basel magistrates were asked to punish printer and editor. Nevertheless, the New Testament was again and again reprinted in Basel, and camouflaged with the false location "Frankfurt und Leipzig." These are the highly esteemed *Täufertestamente* of the eighteenth century.

The Swiss Brethren in Alsace and the Palatinate desired to have a

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33. See the very informative article "Froschauerbibeln" by A. Flury in *Menn. Lex.*, II, 14 f., also "Deutsche Bibelübersetzungen" in Herzog-Hauck's *Protestantische Realenzyklopädie*. A real help is Joh. Conrad Gasser, 400 *Jahre Zwingli Bibel*, 1524-1924, Zürich, 1924 (illustrated).

34. Goshen College has one copy of former Mennonite possession.

35. Mentioned in Gasser, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

36. Copies in Goshen College library.

37. E. Müller, *Bernische Täufer*, p. 353.

good reprint of the folio edition of the entire Froschauer Bible of 1531, at that time already a rare book. Eventually they found a printer in Strasburg who was willing to risk the reprint. In 1744 it appeared at *Simon Kürssner's Cantzley Buchdruckerey,* a big folio volume of 1300 pages, with a two-color title page and a reduced number of woodcuts in the text. Copies of this edition are still to be found among American Mennonites.

Another book highly esteemed by the Swiss Brethren and again proscribed by the Bernese authorities in 1692 was the old Anabaptist hymnal, the *Ausbund*,[38] still in use today in the American Amish congregations. Between 1583 and 1838 at least eleven different editions appeared in Europe, eight of which are listed in Rudolf Wolkan's book on Anabaptist hymnology, the remaining three editions known only in the Goshen College collection. The 1809 edition of the Mechel publishing house in Basel is the first edition in which the title page reveals place and time of publication. All earlier editions are without any statement on the title page regarding their provenance, thus leaving a broad field of uncertainty in the allocation of these prints. According to the arrangement of contents and typography, it is possible to assign four different editions to the seventeenth century, while three editions, if not more, must have appeared during the eighteenth century. The list of the European editions runs as follows:

Oldest edition, *Etliche schöne christliche Geseng . . .*, 53 hymns, 1564, Goshen College Library (GCL),[39]

(1) First edition of the *Ausbund,* 130 hymns, 1583. (Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* p. 118),

(2) ..... 133 hymns, 1622 (Wolkan, p. 119),

(3) ..... 129 hymns and appendix with the omitted four hymns, 17th century, (Wolkan, p. 119 f.), GCL,

(4) ..... 134 hymns, 17th century, (Wolkan, p. 120),

(5) ..... the same, 17th century, (Wolkan, p. 120),

(6) ..... 137 hymns, 18th century, (Wolkan, p. 121), GCL has four slightly different reprints,

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38. See Wolkan, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 118 ff. Also the extensive description in C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania etc.,* Norristown, Pa., 1929, pp. 255, 257 and 331-342. Very helpful is also John Umble's paper, "The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn Tunes," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* LII, 1939, pp. 85 ff.

39. As for the first edition of 1564 see Bender in *Menn. Quart. Rev.,* III, 1929, pp. 147 ff.

(7) ..... 137 hymns and three Psalms, 18th century, GCL, (*not in Wolkan's book*),

(8) ..... the same as (6) with a new appendix: 5 hymns and 11 Psalms, 18th century, GCL, (*not in Wolkan's book*),

(9) ..... the same as (8), namely 137 hymns and 5 hymns and 11 Psalms, Basel, published at von Mechel's, 1809, GCL, (Wolkan, p. 121),

(10) *Christliches Liederbuch der Schweizer Brüder,* 1815, no place; identical with (9), GCL, (*not in Wolkan's book*),

(11) *Ausbund,* Von Mechel publishing house, Basel, 1838, the same as (9), GCL, (Wolkan p. 121).

Notice: All American editions, beginning with 1742, have 140 hymns, that is 137 from (6) and three new hymns well known from single hymnprints yet different from those in the appendix of (8).

It is not known where all the European editions were produced. Since the *Ausbund* combines both Swiss and Dutch songs, Wolkan conjectures that at least the first complete edition of 1583 was brought out in Cologne where, as is known, "Swiss" brethren "am Rheinstrom" like Thomas von Imbroich, and Dutch Mennonites like Michael Cervaes, came into contact.[40] It is likely that the seventeenth century editions also were printed somewhere in the Rhineland. A most interesting question however is the location of the newly discovered eighteenth century editions, at present in Goshen College Library (numbers 6, 7, and 8). Number (7) has a certain typographical similarity to the *Güldene Aepffel,* and for this reason, one might assign it tentatively to Basel, the presumed printing place of the *Güldene Aepffel.* Not so the four different reprints of number (6)—with handwritten ownersigns of 1754-1759, and 1789—and its enlargement to (8). A comparison of this edition with the aforementioned Froschauer Bible of 1744 suggests the probability that this *Ausbund* edition was printed at the same establishment in Strasburg. There Mennonites were less known than in Germany and for that reason less oppressed.[41] Moreover, Strasburg

40. Wolkan, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

41. Menn. Lex., I, 557: In 1766 the French government conceded in a rather unfriendly answer to a petition of the brethren that "this is their best advantage that they are not known and that nobody really understands who they are properly."

was also conveniently situated between the Palatinate, the county of Montbeliard, where Amish brethren lived, and the Swiss border. It was this enlarged edition, number (8), which became a model for all the nineteenth century editions. A handwritten ownersign of 1781 in one of the copies points to a possible dating in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

This was the time also when the first German edition of Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* was published in Germany. This fundamental record of loyalty and martyrdom among Anabaptists and Mennonites was for the first time translated into High German in colonial Pennsylvania and published as a folio volume of 1482 pages by the Ephrata Cloister press in 1748.[42] It made such an impression on the European brethren that eventually they decided to have a reprint made of the American product. In 1780 this book was published in Pirmasens, Palatinate, *"Im Verlag der Vereinigten Brüderschaft."* According to a statement by Neff in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*[43] it is very likely that it was brought out by Amish brethren of the Pirmasens neighborhood. Hans Nafziger of Essingen near Landau, a most active Amish leader,[44] was one of the main supporters of this work, as his letter to Peter Weber of 1778 shows. And Weber himself, the pietistic Mennonite minister, is said to have co-operated in this huge undertaking of presenting the German *Märtyrerspiegel* to the European brethren.[45] Of this edition Neff says in his article in the *Menn. Lex.*, "in the Amish congregations of the Palatinate the book was widely circulated; it served largely as a devotional book (*Erbauungsbuch*)."

A few words ought also to be said about German editions of the works of the Dutch Mennonite leaders, Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. Unfortunately, here we grope in much darkness, for we depend almost entirely on indirect conclusions. Some of the writings of Menno Simons had been translated into German for the first time as early as 1575, and it is known that this volume found considerable circulation among South German Anabaptists of the late sixteenth

42. See Bender, *Two Centuries*, p. 3; John C. Wenger, *History of Franconia Conference*, 1938, pp. 318-322; C. Henry Smith, *op. cit.*, 312-330.

43. *Menn. Lex.*, III, p. 52.

44. E. Correll, "The Value of Family History for Mennonite History," illustrated from Nafziger Family History Material of 18th Century, *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, II, 1928. The *Martyrs' Mirror* is not mentioned there. See also J. Umble in *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XV, 1941, pp. 112 ff. and 247 f.

45. See *Christlicher Gemeindekalender* 1930, p. 101 and *Menn. Quart. Rev.*, XV, 1941, pp. 43 f.

century.[46] Yet it has not been known by historians that there is an identical reprint of this edition of a somewhat later time, differing only by its postscript on the last page explaining the reason for the new edition.[47] This book was printed by a non-Mennonite Christian "for the sake of the propagation of the true word of God," but it is most likely that it was also known and read by the Swiss Brethren —at least occasionally. In the eighteenth century this edition disappeared, and was superseded by the short extracts of Menno Simons' writings edited by Gerrit Roosen (1702) and Joannes Deknatel (1758).

As for Dirk Philips, the second great teacher of Dutch Anabaptism, there exists a first complete German edition of his works of the year 1715, a bulky volume of 933 pages, hitherto not discussed by historians. With the material at hand, it is not possible to locate and assign this interesting edition. The last line of the title page states only, *Teutschland, gedruckt durch C. J. Conert,* 1715. It is altogether uncertain where this edition was published. However, a hint might be obtained from a later German edition of Philips. In 1765 an anonymous "A.L." in Groningen, Holland, published Philips' tract, *Von der Ehe der Christen,* together with the posthumous work, *Von dem evangelischen Bann und Meydung* "nun aus den Niederteutschen in das Hochteutsche übersetzt."[48] This book re-

46. There are, for instance, the reports collected by G. Bossert Sr. in his *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, Bd. I., Herzogtum Württemberg, Leipzig,* 1930, p. 542, 560, 683, etc., saying that the Württemberg authorities discovered the *Fundamentbuch* in the hands of many raided Anabaptists after 1582. And the fact that the book was refuted by the passionate Jesuit and backbiter of the Moravian Hutterites, Christoph Andreas Fischer, in his *Der Hutterischen Wiedertauffer Taubenkobel,* Ingolstadt, 1607, (copy in GCL) proves that the book was popular also among this branch of Anabaptism. Later on we do not hear any more of this edition of the *Fundamentbuch.* However, both Goshen and Scottdale collections possess copies coming from some Swiss Mennonite homes. It is a beautifully printed small size book of almost 900 pages; title page indicates neither the printing place nor the translator.

47. "Dieses Buch ist wiederum mit grossem Fleiss durchsehen/ . . . und in Druck gegeben/aber nur wenig Exemplaria auffgelegt worden. Bitte dich demnach geliebter Leser/ du wöllest es mit grossem Fleiss durchsuchen und mit geistlichen Augen des verstands nach der Schrifft wol beschawen/und mit unpartheyischem Hertz drüber urtheylen; ich hoffe durch Gottes Gnad/du werdest befinden/dass es die klare Warheit ist/ dunckt dich aber es sey zu viel/ so er die Laster beschilt und straff/ so möchte man wol auch meinen Christus und seine Apostel haben auch zu viel gethan/da sie solches beschelten und straffen/und auch solches befehlen/ . . . Der Herr wolle aller Menschen Hertzen erleuchten mit seinem Heil. Geist/ und vor dem ewigen Schaden bewahren, Amen/ so es sein Willen ist.

Daneben bitte (ich) dich mein guter Leser, du söllest nit meynen/dass die Täuffer Rath darzu geben haben/ diss Buch wiederumb auffs newe drucken zu lassen/ sondern ein wolberümbter Herr in einer fürnemmen Statt hat mir Rath darzu geben." A copy of this edition is in Goshen College Library.

48. The title page gives the year 1602, apparently a mere copying of the date of the second Dutch edition (*Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* X, 1914, p. 620 f.);

minds us of Van Sittert's publication of his manual in Amsterdam a hundred years earlier. In both cases Dutch writers provided their German-speaking brethren with literature by translating and printing it in tolerant Holland. Accordingly, it is not unlikely that the expression, *Teutschland,* in the edition of 1715 means nothing more than "printed for use in Germany." No record tells us of the circulation of both books among the Swiss Brethren, yet the fact that Goshen College Library has three copies of each edition speaks for itself. In 1802 the Von Mechel publishing house in Basel arranged another edition of Philips' *Enchiridion* (800 pages) which under scrutiny turns out to be an identical reprint of the "Teutschland" edition of 1715. All this proves that our book did find in fact a lasting response among Swiss Brethren, and particularly among the Amish Mennonites who favored Philips because of his strict teachings regarding the ban.

At the end of this comprehensive survey of the literature of the Swiss Brethren prior to their emigration to America, a summary regarding the geographical extent of Mennonite book production might not be out of place.

In all likelihood Basel was the printing place of Reist's *Gebet* (about 1700), *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen* (1702, 1742), *Send-Brieff* (about 1720), *Ausbund* (year?), Michael Sattler's *Brüderliche Vereinigung* (no year), *Glaubensbekenntnis* (1742), *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* (ed. of 1796), and several collections of hymns as, for instance, *20 neue geistliche Lieder,* or the 98 hymns described by Neff.

In the Palatinate were printed at least two editions of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* (Kaiserslautern 1739, Pirmasens 1781), the *Märtyrerspiegel* (Pirmasens 1780) and possibly the *Kleines Handbüchlein* (1786).

Alsace, then belonging to France, produced the new Froschauer Bible of 1744, and one or several editions of the *Ausbund;* in 1801 also the *Catechism* of the Prussian Mennonites. Place of publication was most likely in all cases Strasburg.

The principality of Waldeck became the cradle of the Western edition of the just named *Prussian* catechism of 1778, first printed

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the preface, however, concludes with the statement *"A. L. Groningen, den 22. Augustus* 1765. This A. L. might have been an Amish brother since a small settlement of Amish brethren existed in Holland since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

for Amish use in 1797. From there this little book spread over the South German congregations and finally found its way to America.

The county of Nassau produced one edition of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* in 1787 (Herborn). The Landgravate of Hesse joined Waldeck in an edition of the catechism of 1797; another edition came out in Giessen in 1834.

In Zweybrücken, then a duchy, the *Ernstafte Christenpflicht* was reprinted in 1781, and again in 1816 and 1837. The *Waldeck* catechism was reprinted there not before 1855, but another catechism, the *Christliche Zusammensprechung,* apparently the translation of a Dutch original, was published as early as 1797.[49]

There are two more German principalities in the Rhineland where Mennonites settled, Baden and Wittgenstein, but no print is known from these places until late in the nineteenth century.

The county of Montbeliard (Mümpelgard), belonging to France, printed the *Waldeck* catechism three times in the nineteenth century in German (1855, 1860, and 1891), and three times in French (1862, 1869, 1898).

49. See Neff in *Menn. Lex.,* II, 470, art. "Katechismen."

# THEODOR FONTANE'S "QUITT"

Ernst Correll

An Editorial Note prefatory to the following article by A. J. F. Zieglschmid.

Dr. Ernst Correll published about twenty years ago in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Vol. I, p. 661) an article on *Theodor Fontane* and the story entitled *Quitt.* The following is a brief translation of Correll's article, and is presented herewith by way of introduction to Professor Zieglschmid's elaborate study which, for the first time, sheds helpful light on the background of the work and on that of its Mennonite characters. [Editor].

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Theodor Fontane (1819-1898), a distinguished German author, was descended from a Huguenot family which, driven out of France because of their religion, had found refuge in tolerant Prussia. Known as a sincere and sensitive writer of historical fiction dealing with material taken from his Brandenburg environment, we are here concerned with his story *Quitt,* which appeared in 1891 and has since gone through many editions. The second part of this story takes place among the Mennonites of central Oklahoma near Darlington, the first Mennonite mission station among the Arapahoe Indians. We skip the first part, which occurs in Germany (Silesia) and acquaints us with Lehnert, an obstinate adventurer who flees to America because he has gotten into trouble with the law over poaching and similar criminal acts. In America he becomes a new person as he finds a life of peace and forgiveness in Christian association among the Mennonites.

It is the Mennonite elder called, strangely, Obadiah ("Obadja") Hornbostel, whom the author presents in an appealing character. We hear that he and his family have come from Dakota from a community called Dirschau, and that they had migrated because of difficulties with the government. They name their new homestead in the Indian Territory "Nogat-Ehre." In many unforgettable scenes in a friendly and gentle manner the author describes the pious life of the Hornbostel family. Father Obadiah, his son Tobias, and daughter Ruth hold good company, maintain friendly, sympathetic rela-

tions with their servants, and are good householders. Economic activities are progressive, since Father Obadiah is a well-read man and knows all the new methods of agriculture. Various characters join his household: Lutherans as well as Catholics live under his roof. The true spirit of a Mennonite home, rooted in a strong faith, envelops them. So also Lehnert, whom gracious Providence brought into this circle, finds the faith which brought light into his dark past and shows him true and worth-while goals.

Often Father Obadiah and Lehnert find themselves in earnest conversation. The revelations coming from Father Obadiah illustrate the latter's deep-seated, Christian spirit.

"He who makes himself most useful," he once remarked to Lehnert, "is the one who labors, moves forward, and uproots both brushwood and heathendom; and puts his faith in Jesus Christ the Redeemer. Indeed, he who keeps to his work and maintains discipline serves Him best. . . . Unthinking obedience is sterile, not only in one's heart and soul, but also outside in our field of labor . . . and reduces my reward which I do not gather for my own or my family's honor, but for the glory of God. . . ."

Whence came Fontane's knowledge about the Mennonites of Darlington, whom he names: Penner, Shelley, Nickel, Krähbiel, Bartels; and about whose work among the Arapahoe Indians he reports? Only occasionally does a line not ring true, as for example, when Obadiah on one occasion is made to confess to the doctrine of predestination; but the total picture of this group of Mennonites is quite accurate. This is particularly true when Father Obadiah frequently discusses objection to war as a characteristic teaching of his group. "Haughtiness makes for war; humility makes for peace," we hear him state in a sermon.

Previous to Fontane's work, Ernst von Wildenbruch's drama *Der Mennonit,* a product of jingoism, a deliberate invective against the Mennonite principle of nonresistance, caused many a wrong interpretation of the Mennonite tradition. Fontane's Mennonite figures, however, appear in true, unadulterated form. But where did they appear before him in the flesh? This question points to a still unknown phase in the history of the writings of Master Fontane.

# TRUTH AND FICTION AND MENNONITES IN THE SECOND PART OF THEODOR FONTANE'S NOVEL "QUITT": THE INDIAN TERRITORY

A. J. F. Zieglschmid

While various publications are available to enlighten the student of Fontane about the genesis,[1] the novelistic construction,[2] and the literary merits and shortcomings[3] of his novel *Quitt,* this question has never been answered: What is fact and what is fiction in Fontane's description of the Indian Territory?[4] The present paper concerns itself with this question.

This study was prompted by the divergence of certain statements made by Fontane and his literary critics. On the one hand, Fontane writes:

> I have sketched out the new novel [*Quitt*] as much as one can sketch out anything for which the material is still completely lacking. This is partly true of the first half and entirely so of the second—which has *for its background the Mennonites in America.* Of course, I could invent everything and draw the whole story from the wellspring of my imagination, but it is better to be on the safe side. I do not have the boldness to keep on writing without regard to the facts.[5]

On another occasion Fontane speaks of the *"Indian Territory which I happen to know almost as well as Brandenburg."*[6]

On the other hand—to name only one of Fontane's literary critics —Wandrey[7] states, with reference to the Indian Territory,

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1. Heilborn (pseud. for Fontane), Ernst, *Das Fontane-Buch* (S. Fischer, Berlin, 1921), Part III: "Das Tagebuch aus seinen letzten Lebensjahren," pp. 156 (1885)—180 (1890); *Theodor Fontanes Briefe an seine Familie* [abbr.: FBFam] (F. Fontane & Co., Berlin, 1906), Vol. II, pp. 115 (1885)—196 (1889); Wandrey, C., *Theodor Fontane* (Beck, München, 1919), p. 320; etc.—For purpose of reference: Fontane began planning the novel (*Quitt* in the summer of 1885, writing in the summer of 1886, correcting at the end of 1888. (*Quitt* appeared as a "Vordruck" in the *Gartenlaube,* 1890, p. 8 ff; in book form 1891 (W. Hertz, Berlin), $^{2}$1902; $^{91}$1919 (Cotta Nachf.).

2. Hayens, K., *Theodor Fontane: A Critical Study* (W. Collins Sons & Co., London, 1920), Chap. IV: "The New World: Quitt," pp. 101-120.

3. Wandrey, *op. cit.,* p. 320.

4. This term refers to the former Indian country which, in 1907, was admitted to the Union as the 46th State under the name of Oklahoma.

5. FBFam II: 115 (June 3, 1885).

6. *Theodor Fontanes Briefe an seine Freunde* (2. Sammlung; S. Fischer, Berlin, 1925) II:168-171 (Dec. 28, 1888).

7. Wandrey, *op. cit.,* pp. 320/21.

1. that Fontane had not the slightest knowledge of the American scene,
2. that Fontane attempted to compensate for his inability to present a foreign milieu by creating an imaginary scene of his own, and
3. that Fontane's description of the Indian Territory *was* drawn from his imagination.

These divergent statements alone promised a profitable investigation. Since, in addition, none of the various authors[8] dealing with Fontane's description of the Indian Territory attempts to give as much as even a hint to any actual locality or probable historical personage, such an investigation appeared doubly attractive. At the same time, it seemed worth while to try to find definite authentic source material which Fontane might have used for his description of the Indian Territory.

Thus, the present study offers the following findings which have reference to the Indian Territory only and are concerned

I. with actual localities,
II. with historical personages,
III. with some fictitious elements, and
IV. with some of Fontane's authentic source material.

## I. Actual Localities

It might seem strange to devote time to an account of actual localities in the Indian Territory, were it not for the fact that nearly all localities mentioned by Fontane are either not well known or do not exist any longer and consequently cannot be found on even a good map. This may partly explain those opinions expressed by Fontane's critics to which reference was made in the introductory remarks above.

1. *Fort McCulloch*: When, for the first time, we meet Lehnert (a historical personage)[9] in America in the summer of 1884,[10] he is said to have left Fort McCulloch the day before.

8. Among them Wandrey, *op. cit.;* Rosenfeld, H.-F., *Zur Entstehung Fontanescher Romane* (Openbare Les, Groningen, Den Haag, 1926); Hayens, *op. cit.;* Rost, W. E., *Örtlichkeit und Schauplatz in Fontanes Werken* (Germanisch-Deutsch: Studien zur Sprache und Kultur, Heft VI; de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1931).—Kügler, H., "Quellen zu Theodor Fontane," in *Willibald-Alexis-Bund,* 2. Jahresbericht, 1927 (Rembrandt-Verlag, Berlin-Zehlendorf), does not deal with *Quitt.*

9. According to Rost, *op. cit.,* p. 115, "fanden Einzelheiten des wirklichen Vorfalls, die Fontane im Gespräch durch den befreundeten Amtsgerichtsrat Dr. G. Friedländer

This fort, named in honor of the gallant brigadier-general of the Civil War, Benjamin McCulloch (1811-1862),[11] no longer exists. It was located in the southernmost part of the Indian Territory on the south bank of the Little Blue River, some twenty miles from the Red River near what was known as Nail's Crossing, about nine miles east of Durant in what is now Bryan County, Oklahoma.[12]

2. *Fort Holmes*: Lehnert's northern goal, which he desires to reach with his two Cherokee carriers, is Fort Holmes. There is no trace left of it now except for a stone foundation of a bridge across the Little River, a tributary of the near-by South Canadian River.

Fort Holmes was a fortification[13] constructed under orders of General Henry Leavenworth by Lieutenant T. H. Holmes[14] and a company of the Seventh Infantry, on the east bank of the Little River near its confluence with the South Canadian, in the spring of 1834. This fortification was called Camp Canadian and later "Fort Holmes" for the officer in charge of construction. Subsequently

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zugetragen wurden, Nachbildung im Roman" (cf. Rost's Note 275: "Amtsgerichtsrat Dr. G. Friedländer nahm damals an den Verhandlungen des heute [1931] noch schwebenden gerichtlichen Verfahrens gegen den vermeintlichen Mörder teil. Dieser floh nach Amerika und muss inzwischen ein so hohes Alter erreicht haben, dass mit seinem Tode gerechnet werden darf." According to Rost's Note, the burial took place July 21, 1877. The victim was "der Reichsgräfliche Schaffgotsch'sche Revierförster Wilhelm Frey von Wolfshau.").

10. *Quitt* (W. Hertz, Berlin, 1891), p. 154.—The date 1884 may be determined by the fact that Obadja's letter arrived at Krummhübel on St. John's Day, i. e., June 24, 1885 (*Quitt* 333). The second part of the novel, dealing with the Indian Territory, consequently begins with the summer of the year 1884 (*Quitt* 154, Chapt. XVII) since Lehnert celebrates only one Christmas in Obadja's home.

11. Cf. Funk and Wagnalls, *New Standard Encyclop.* (New York, 1931) XVII:480.

12. Morrison, W. B., *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Harlow Publ. Corp., Oklahoma City, Okla., 1936), pp. 126-131.—I am indebted to Mr. James W. Moffitt, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, for the title of this valuable book.

13. My thanks are due to Professor C. C. Rister of the Department of History, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.; Dr. Grant Foreman, Director of Historical Research of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Muskogee, Okla.; Dr. J. B. Thoburn, Custodian of the Union Room, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, for their valuable, although somewhat varying, information about Ft. Holmes. Dr. Rister writes of *a fortification*, Dr. Foreman of *a temporary garrison*, Dr. Thoburn of *a supply station or depot in the angle of confluence between the Canadian and Little Rivers*.—It is my pleasure to make special acknowledgment to the Northwestern University for a Grant-in-Aid of Research which enabled the author to visit the State of Oklahoma and carry on his research in the former Indian Territory itself. Thanks also are due to Dr. Harold S. Bender, Dean of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Mr. John E. Coffman, Curator of the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College; and to Dr. A. Warkentin, Librarian of the Mennonite Historical Library of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, for having put the various Mennonite publications in their libraries at my disposal.

14. Theophilus Hunter Holmes (1804-1880) graduated at West Point in 1829 and ultimately became lieutenant-general; cf. Funk and Wagnalls, *op. cit.*, XV:436.

cartographers listed it as "Old Fort Holmes," an important landmark on the military road leading to Texas, rather than as a military post.[15] With reference to present features of the country, it was about six miles southeast of Holdenville in Hughes County, Oklahoma.

3. *Shawnee Hills*: Lehnert, on his northward trip from Fort McCulloch to Fort Holmes, reaches the ridge of the Shawnee Hills[16] (1000 feet above sea level) at a point from which he is able to discern the four copper-plated watch towers of Fort Holmes[17] to the northwest. Before him lies a crescent-shaped transverse valley approximately seven miles wide with its outlet to the west.[18]

During my repeated traversals of the little-known Shawnee Hills, which are located in northwestern Pittsburg and central eastern Hughes counties, directly north of the village of Stuart between McAlester and Calvin, I carefully surveyed[19] the various valley formations to see if there might be a valley fitting the rather detailed description by Fontane. Without having to stretch my imagination in the least, I actually did come upon such a crescent-shaped transverse valley about seven miles wide with its outlet to the west. It lies directly east of the present town of Calvin (near highway U. S. 75), approximately ten miles, as the crow flies, southeast of Fort Holmes. Although no conclusive proof can be offered that Fontane had this particular valley in mind, it nevertheless may be mentioned here. This very point is the logical place for a traveller to pass who is hik-

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15. Dr. Rister writes to me in a letter under March 4, 1940: "In 1835, Major R. B. Mason with a detachment of troops left Fort Gibson and travelled westward to a point on Chouteau Creek approximately three miles north of present Purcell, where they established a temporary camp. Here, a few weeks later, ex-Governer Montford Stokes of North Carolina and General Matthew Arbuckle concluded the first treaty with the wild Comanche and Wichita Indians [cf. Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (1803-1906) (University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., 1917), p. 17]. This point was subsequently called Camp Holmes and also Camp Mason, after the officer of the troops who established it.

"The two fortifications have left historians in confusion, yet we may say that Fort Holmes was the first post established in 1834, that Camp Holmes was located farther west in the next year, and that the names Camp Holmes and Fort Mason were used interchangeably."

16. The Shawnee Hills were named for the Absentee Shawnee Indians who had their principal settlement in this vicinity between 1835 and 1855; cf. Gould, Chas. N., *Oklahoma Place Names* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1933), p. 36.

17. *Quitt* 157.

18. *ibid.*, pp. 157 and 159.

19. I am, of course, aware of the fact that Fontane frequently treats actual distances, historical personages and places very freely according to his artistic requirements. This will be repeatedly demonstrated in the course of the present study; cf. also Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94/95.

ing due north from Fort McCulloch to Fort Holmes. A painstaking study of a good map may have enabled Fontane to depict such an accurate scene.

4. *The Texas-Kansas-Missouri Railroad*: Lehnert sees from the ridge of the Shawnee Hills[20] the Texas-Kansas-Missouri Railroad traversing the crescent-shaped valley just mentioned.

Fontane transposed the correct sequence of Missouri-Kansas-Texas to Texas-Kansas-Missouri probably in order to underscore the northward direction of Lehnert's trip.

Since the M.K.T. line existed at the time of the writing of *Quitt* (the line was begun in 1870 and completely constructed to Dennison, Texas, by 1872,[21] a map of the Indian Territory may have informed Fontane of its existence. It is also true—a fact which Fontane states —that this railroad line extended to Galveston in 1884, since the M.K.T. Railroad used to connect in Dennison, Texas, with the Texas Central Railway which passed on toward the Gulf of Mexico.[22]

It is not accurate, however, to say, as Lehnert does, that one can see the M.K.T. Railroad from the Shawnee Hills, for this line runs at least seventeen miles east of the heart of these hills. Yet, knowing that Fontane frequently shortens distances considerably for artistic reasons,—in this instance for that of centralization,—we may assign this item to both truth and fiction.[23]

5. *Fort Gibson*: Lehnert also sees from the ridge of the Shawnee Hills Fort Gibson.

This fort, located near the mouth of the Grand River, about six miles northeast of Muskogee, was established in April, 1824, by Colonel (afterwards General) Matthew Arbuckle. It was named for Commissary General George Gibson. The fort was abandoned

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20. *Quitt* 157.

21. Cf. Gideon, D. C., *Indian Territory* (Lewis Publ. Co., Chicago, Ill., 1901), p. 36, and Gittinger, *op. cit.*, p 82.

22. Jennes, Th. R., "The Indian Territory," in *Atlantic Monthly* XLIII:448 (Boston, 1879).

23. Cf. part III of this study for the latter category.—The reader consulting a map might consider the K. O. and G. Ry. (Kansas-Oklahoma and Gulf Ry.) or the C. R. I. and P. Ry. (Chicago-Rock Island and Pacific Ry.) as traversing the crescent-shaped valley near Calvin (which valley is described in 3. above). However, the K. O. and G. Ry., running from Lamar (northeast of Calvin) to Calvin, was constructed between 1907 and 1909, from Calvin to the Red River between 1908 and 1910 (cf. *Interstate Commerce Commission's Valuation Docket No. 740*: "Missouri, Oklahoma and Gulf Railway Company." The author is indebted for this title to Mr. A. W. Lefeber, President of the M. O. and G. Ry., Muskogee, Okla.).—The C. R. I. and P. Ry (under this name since 1902) was not constructed until 1895 (under the name of Choctaw-Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad; cf. Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

in 1857, but was reoccupied by Federal troops during the Civil War. It was finally abandoned in 1899.[24]

Since the distance between the Shawnee Hills (near Calvin) and Fort Gibson is approximately eighty-three miles, truth and fiction are again intermingled for the artistic reason of centralization.

6. *Darlington and Nogat-Ehre*: It may be recalled that Fontane speaks of "the German Mennonites near Station Darlington."[25]

While the preceding actual localities were only of minor importance for the general local atmosphere of Fontane's "Indian Territory," Darlington and Nogat-Ehre form the main scene of the second part of the novel.

The attentive reader of *Quitt* will notice that Fontane again and again distinguishes between Station Darlington, which is surrounded by Mennonite-owned farm land, and near-by Nogat-Ehre, a farm personally owned by the spiritual leader of the Mennonites, Obadja Hornbostel.

Although there has never existed a railroad stop called "Station Darlington" in the Indian Territory, an Indian Agency bore the name of Darlington in honor of Brinton Darlington (1804-1872), the pioneer agent of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians. He was the first to enter the Indian country in Oklahoma on such a mission in 1869.[26] Today Darlington[27] is known as the location of the Oklahoma State Game Farm.

Of special interest for the present investigation is, of course, the fact that Mennonite mission work actually was done at Darlington between 1880 and 1896.[28] Indeed, Darlington was the first Mennonite mission field among the American Indians.

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24. Foreman, G., *Fort Gibson* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1936), pp. 8-40; Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; Gideon, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-163; Thoburn-Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), pp. 62-67; Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-47.—Fontane speaks of *Station Gibson* (*Quitt* 157) and later (*Quitt* 288) of *Fort Gibson.*

25. *Quitt* 158 *et al.*

26. Brinton Darlington was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, Dec. 3, 1804, and died in the Indian Territory May 1, 1872. He was a Quaker who had won the reverence of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, two of the most war-like tribes under the care of the U. S. War Department. For a more detailed biography, cf. the booklet published by the *El Reno American* (El Reno, Okla.) under the title of *Darlington—The Indian's Friend* (s.a.; illustrated; 25 cents).

27. Darlington is situated five miles northwest of El Reno.

28. The following books deal with the Mennonite mission activities among the Indians in the Indian Territory (Darlington, etc): Krehbiel, H. P., *The History of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America* (publ. by its author, Canton, Ohio, 1898), pp. 282-343 (illustrated); Kaufman, E. G., *The Development of the Missionary and Philanthropic Interest Among the Mennonites of North America*

On May 18, 1880, Samuel S. Haury and his wife left Halstead, Kansas, and after a four days' journey arrived at Darlington, Indian Territory, to begin their missionary activities. In the fall of 1880 the Mennonite Foreign Mission Board decided to build a mission house with the consent of the government. This building, completed in August, 1881, was a wooden structure. It was large enough to accommodate the missionary family and helpers and about twenty-five Indian children.

7. *Fort O'Brien*: When Lehnert opens the window of his room at Nogat-Ehre he sees "a white building, dilapidated and without a roof, formerly a fort—Fort O'Brien."[29] Another time Fort O'Brien is mentioned when Obadja's family desires to have a picnic there. Obadja himself is easily persuaded by his daughter Ruth to join their excursion "since she knew of his plans,—plans which had been concerned for quite some time with the purchase of this fort from the government. He planned to make the rebuilt fort the center of a second Mennonite-owned farm."[30]

Obadja's plan to buy an old fort might impress the reader of *Quitt* as rather strange and far-fetched, since even in the early eighties one did not customarily hunt for a bargain in dilapidated forts. And yet, there *was* a fort to be had in the Indian Territory at lowest cost, namely free of charge. Its name, however, was not Fort O'Brien but Fort Cantonment.

In 1882 "Haury's attention was called to the fact that Fort Cantonment, situated about sixty miles northwest of Darlington,[31] would be abandoned by the government,"[32] "and that the vacated buildings could be used free of charge by the mission."[33]

This singular occurrence of a fort being offered by the government to the Mennonite Mission seems to be sufficient and conclusive

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(Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana, 1931), chapter III, E: "Foreign Missions up to 1880," pp. 103-110; chapter IV, D: "The Foreign Mission Board and Its Work," pp. 135-151. (The Mennonites consider their mission work among the Indians as a part of their "foreign mission."); Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, [1912]), p. 890; Hege-Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, A. M.) I:395-396 (1921): article "Darlington" by H. R. Voth; *Mennonitische Blätter* (ed. by J. Mannhardt, Danzig), 27. Jhrg., Nr. 5, May, 1880, *et sqq.*

29. *Quitt* 188.

30. *Quitt* 296.

31. Cantonment may be reached by driving 2 miles west of Canton on state highway Okla. 51 and then 3 miles north. The present Mennonite missionary is Rev. Toews.

32. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

33. Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

proof that Obadja's Fort O'Brien, which he considered buying from the government, is identical with the historical Fort Cantonment.

Concerning the fictitious name of O'Brien instead of the historical one of Cantonment, it may be mentioned that Fontane frequently changed actual place names or simply invented new ones.[34]

Although Fontane does not inform us of the ultimate fate of Fort O'Brien (Fort Cantonment), various Mennonite publications[35] contain historical sketches about the Cantonment mission station which was officially established December 1, 1882. Mennonite mission work at Cantonment is still carried on today among the Cheyenne Indians settled in this vicinity.

## II. Historical Personages

1. *Gunpowder-Face*: Among the names which captivate the reader's imagination undoubtedly the name of the Indian chief Gunpowder-Face stands out from the others. Fontane explains the origin of the name by remarking that this name was given the Indian chief "because his face had apparently been pitted with grains of gunpowder."[36]

Although no biographical data concerning this chief could be found anywhere, the following may suffice to prove his actual existence. Haury, reporting in a letter of the year 1880 on his activities in Darlington and vicinity, makes the following statement:

"We held a meeting for adult Indians in the afternoon, approximately three miles west [of Darlington] . . . . About 125 Indians were present. Some were lying in the grass, others stood beside their horses, some remained on their horses, and others, who had already taken to the white man's ways, remained seated on their wagons at the periphery of the circle . . . . It was really comical, among other things, that *Powder-Face,* who had been to dinner with his family in our home, was . . . trying to hold a parasol over [his wife]."[37]

34. Cf. Rost, *op. cit.,* p. 89.—Rost cites the following instances: "the village Hohen-Vietz (invented); Leutzen was changed to Lietzen, Hohen-Ziesar to Hohen-Jesar, Nieder Barnekow to Zernikow, Replin to Treplin," etc.

35. Cf. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.,* pp. 291-292, 312; Linscheidt, G. A., "A Sketch of Oklahoma Missions," in *The Mennonite,* Nov. 16, 1922 (mission work among the Cheyenne Indians since 1884); Kinsinger, Bertha E., *Cheyenne Souvenirs* (copyrighted in 1911 by its author; consists exclusively of photographs); Petter, R., "Cantonment," in Hege-Neff, *op. cit.,* 1:325-326 (1917); Voth, H., "Unsere Mission [in Cantonment]," in *Christlicher Bundesbote* (Berne, Ind., 2. Jhrg., No. 2, Jan. 15, 1883, column: Missions-Abteilung), p. 15; cf. footnote 28 of the present article; Morrison, *op. cit.,* pp. 142-146.

36. *Quitt* 226.

37. Reprint of a letter by Haury under the title "Mennoniten-Mission in Amerika," in *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten* (ed. by U. Hege, Reihen bei Sinsheim; 11, Jhrg., No. 11, Nov. 1880, column: Missions-Nachrichten), p. 84.

A second reference to "Chief Powder-Face" was found in the caption beneath a photograph reproduced in a booklet entitled "[*Brinton*] *Darlington—The Indian's Friend.*"[38] The picture shows "Chief Powder-Face and his Squaw, who were good friends of Brinton Darlington."

2. *Krähbiel*: Fontane introduces the missionary Krähbiel on not less than ten different occasions[39] into the story of *Quitt*, thus giving a certain prominence to this character.

We first make his acquaintance in a brief reference to "missionary Krähbiel of the near-by Indian settlement."[40] We later learn that "Brother Krähbiel . . . directed the mission work and the mission school among the neighboring Arapahoes."[41] A third and last passage in *Quitt* may receive our special attention. We read that "a nephew of Gunpowder-Face . . . had first been educated in the home of Krähbiel ("bei Krähbiel"[42]) and then in the mission school at Halstead."[43]

The name and character of Krähbiel have, comparatively recently, been the subject of a study[44] in which one of Fontane's favorite maxims, *nomen est omen*, was to be demonstrated. The particular paragraph reads as follows:

"The name *Krähbiel* clearly stands out from the rest, quite apart from the morbid association of the name (i.e., Krähe—). As it is, our forebodings come true. Soon after Krähbiel is introduced to us [*Quitt* 221], he brings the news of the death of a minor character [i.e., Gunpowder-Face—*Quitt* 255] and the funeral is described in detail [*Quitt* 258-261]. Soon after this, the hero of the story himself meets a horrible, long-drawn-out death. At the funeral, the school children, under the direction of none other than Missionar Krähbiel [*Quitt* 328], sing the favorite hymn of the deceased [Leonhard Menz]. This is a striking use of a name as an evil omen."[45]

If the Reverend Christian Krehbiel had not died April 30, 1909, he might well object to the foregoing analysis. It is true that Fon-

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38. Cf. footnote 26 of the present article.

39. Cf. *Quitt* 221, 229, 234, 254-256, 258-261, 265, 281, 196, 310, 328.

40. *Quitt* 221.

41. *ibid.*, p. 254.

42. Although "bei Krähbiel" may refer to the "mission school among the . . . Arapahoes" (*Quitt* 254) the following discussion above will justify my translation "in the home of Krähbiel."

43. *Quitt* 310.

44. Klitzke, C. P., *The Naming of the Characters in Theodor Fontane's Novels* (M. A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1934); cf. also Berend, F., "Die Namen bei Fontane," in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Neue Folge, 14. Jhrg., 1922, pp. 39-44.

45. Klitzke, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

tane spells Krehbiel's name with *ä* instead of with *e,* but there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Krähbiel of the novel and Christian Krehbiel in actual life. The following pertinent biographical data may aid in establishing the correctness of this assertion.

Christian Krehbiel, born October 11, 1832, at Weierhof, a small village located at the foot of the Donnersberg in the Bavarian Palatinate, was to become an outstanding and influential elder of the Mennonites in the United States. His parents emigrated to America in 1851 and settled in Donnellson in southeastern Iowa (Lee County).[46] Christian Krehbiel, married in 1858, moved to Summerfield, Illinois, in 1860. Four years later he was elected elder. Here, as in Iowa, he followed farming as an occupation.

His life, however, was not destined to run the quiet course of a simple farmer's. The Western District Conference,[47] which met for the first time in Donnellson, Iowa, in October, 1868, was originated by Christian Krehbiel, he having first conceived and proposed the idea. For a number of years he served as a leading home missionary of that body. Toward the end of the sixties he originated the idea of a Mennonite colony to be founded in the West. His hopes and efforts materialized in the settlements in Harvey and McPherson counties in Kansas, with Halstead as headquarters. He was the leader of the entire movement.

When in 1871 a member of Krehbiel's church, Samuel S. Haury, announced his intention of becoming a missionary, the General Conference, as a consequence, created the Foreign Mission Board in 1872. Krehbiel was elected a member of this board, and the Board elected him to its presidency. He served in this capacity for twenty-four years, from 1872-1896.

In March, 1875, Krehbiel presided at the organization of the Mennonite church at Halstead, Kansas. Four years later, in March, 1879, he removed with his family from Summerfield, Illinois, to Halstead and settled on a farm near the town. He remained here until his death in 1909. "Living close to the missionary field [in the Indian Territory] he often visited it."[48]

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46. Krehbiel, Aug., "Donnellson," in Hege-Neff, *op. cit.,* I:462 (1921).

47. The various Mennonite Conferences, having the functions of the Lutheran Synods, etc., are indicated in D. Kauffman, *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (Mennonite Publ. House, Scottdale, Pa., 1937), p. 66. [Only the regional conferences of the (Old) Mennonites are cited in this reference.—Editor]

48. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.,* p. 433.—This entire sketch is primarily indebted to H. P. Krehbiel's book.—The following additional historical works containing bio-

Krehbiel had assisted in the organization of the Kansas Conference in 1877 and, residing in this district at Halstead since 1879, was the first among those who promoted the plan and ultimately achieved the establishment of a Mennonite school for Kansas. This school became known as the "Kansas Mennonite Conference School at Halstead."[49]

It is this very school—the only Mennonite school in Kansas in the early eighties—to which Ruth in *Quitt* refers when, answering her brother's question about where she had learned to pencil mark the margins of books to let others know which passages she had liked best, she says, "in Halstead, in school."[50]

As quoted before, "a nephew of Gunpowder-Face . . . had first been educated in the home of Krähbiel ("bei Krähbiel") and then in the mission school at Halstead."

It is an often cited fact in histories of Mennonite foreign mission affairs that, in addition to educational efforts among the Indian children and camp visits among the adult Indians, "another form of missionary activity was entered upon through the inventive and undertaking genius of Christian Krehbiel, namely, the placing of Indian youths in Christian families in Kansas."[51] As early as February, 1882, Krehbiel himself had made a beginning in this new missionary method by taking a young Indian from the Indian Territory with him into his own home in Halstead. Permission was soon obtained from the Indian Commissioner through Haury to take as many boys as desired to Kansas for a period of three years each. Thus, the "nephew of Gunpowder-Face had first been educated in the home of Krähbiel ("bei Krähbiel")." He later was educated "in the mission school at Halstead."

This "mission school," as Fontane calls it, probably does not refer so much to a school as such but rather to the practice of placing the more promising young Indians in the "Kansas Mennonite Conference School at Halstead" with the object of ultimately sending them among their own people as missionaries. This practice was begun in

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graphical material on Krehbiel were consulted: Neff, Chr., "Krehbiel, Christian," in Hege-Neff, *op. cit.*, II:565-566 (1935); cf. also *Bundesbote-Kalender* 1910 (Verlag der Christlichen Central-Buchhandlung der Allgemeinen Conferenz der Mennoniten, Berne, Ind.), pp. 27-31; H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-433.

49. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 298, calls it the "Mennonite Academy at Halstead."

50. *Quitt* 249.

51. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

March, 1884, when four young Indians were placed in that institution.[52]

There is a fair probability, however, that Fontane may actually have referred to the "Industrial Mission School" which was arranged for in connection with the Kansas Mennonite Conference School at Halstead in 1885. The purpose was to give the Indian students an industrial and Christian training in an institution where they could not get in touch so easily with the rest of their own people whose influence was thought to be detrimental. Thus, in 1885, fifteen Indian boys and girls were enrolled in the Industrial Mission School at Halstead.[53]

The probability of Fontane's making reference to the Industrial Mission School increases when one considers the period of time during which he wrote his novel. We know from a letter of Fontane to Georg Friedländer (June 24, 1886)[54] that Fontane finished the fourth chapter of *Quitt* June 24, 1886. From another letter of Fontane to Mete (July 1, 1887) we learn that he hopes to be finished with the novel *Quitt* the day after tomorrow, i.e., July 3, 1887.[55]

Thus, it is quite likely that Fontane could have received the information of the establishment of the Industrial Mission School in 1885 at the time of writing *Quitt* between June, 1886, and July, 1887.

3. *Mister Anthony Shelley*: Fontane, speaking of the Mennonite teachers and missionaries as "six in number," characterizes one of them with the following dubious compliment: "One of them with the delicate features of a Russian wolfhound evidently was an Englishman: Mister Anthony Shelley."[56]

Anthony S. Shelley,[57] a collaborator with Christian Krehbiel in the latter's educational endeavors with the Kansas Mennonite Conference School at Halstead, served that institution as a teacher for two years, from 1884-1886.[58] When the Industrial Mission School

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52. *ibid.*, p. 298

53. Cf. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

54. *Fontanes Briefe an seine Freunde* II:115 (cf. footnote 6 of the present study).

55. FBFam II:147 (cf. footnote 1).

56. *Quitt* 228.

57. H. P. Krehbeil, *op. cit.*, (a complete biography) pp. 457-458, 306, writes *Shelly;* D. Kauffman, *op. cit.*, p. 338, writes *Shelley.*

58. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

was established at Halstead, Kansas, in 1885, Anthony S. Shelley officiated as superintendent during its first year of existence.[59]

4. *Brother Nickel*: Nickel is mentioned only twice in *Quitt*. We hear of "the mission school of Nickel"[60] and of "the Cherokee children under Brother Nickel's direction."[61]

Although there are no biographical data available, the fact can be established beyond a doubt that he was a historical personage; for Samuel S. Haury writes in a report of the year 1881: "On June 16, [1881], Brother Nickel left us [at Darlington] to help his aging, ailing father with the harvest . . . I engaged another carpenter in his stead."[62]

5. *Stauffer*: Stauffer is one of the three among the six Mennonite teachers and missionaries who are mentioned in *Quitt*[63] by name only. However, Haury reports in a letter of April 5, 1884, about Cantonment and, incidentally, about Brother Peter Stauffer. The pertinent passage reads: "Brother Peter Stauffer from Iowa came along with us in order to take the place of Brother Ledig here [in Cantonment]."[64]

A second reference which identifies Fontane's Stauffer with the historical Peter Stauffer dates from the year 1898; we read: "Peter Stauffer had formerly [i.e., before 1890] been in the mission service in the Indian Territory.[65] It was through him that attention was directed to [a prospective Mennonite mission field in] Arizona."[66]

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59. *ibid.*, p. 306.—Anthony S. Shelley was born in Milford Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on February 28, 1853. His ancestors in Europe lived in the Palatinate, Germany, but as early as 1750 the great-grandfather of A. S. Shelley's grandfather immigrated to America. Anthony entered the Conference School at Wadsworth, Ohio, in 1870, taught in district schools for two winter terms while he worked on the farm during the Summer. After various teaching positions he accepted a call to the Kansas Mennonite Conference School at Halstead.

60. *Quitt* 281.

61. *ibid.*, p. 265.

62. *Mennonitische Blätter*, 28. Jhrg., No. 10, Oct., 1881, p. 76: "Quartalbericht von S. S. Haury."—Haury's reference to "another carpenter" makes it probable that Brother Nickel is identical with Gerhard J. Nickel who was a carpenter by trade. He was born May 15, 1855, at Fürstenau in southern Russia; cf. *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 54. Jhrg., No. 30, July 30, 1935, p. 478.

63. *Quitt* 229.

64. Supplement "Quartalbericht" in *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 1884.

65. Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 148, Table 5: "Workers Who Have Served in the General Conference Mennonite Missions Among the American Indians," mentions Peter Stauffer as having "entered 1889, resigned 1890." This refers, however, to Stauffer's work among the Indians in Arizona, for Kaufman, p. 140, writes: "Mr. Stauffer had previously [cf. Haury's letter above] served in the Mennonite Mission among the Arapahoes in Oklahoma [i.e., in the Indian Territory]."

66. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 322.—Concerning the Stauffer family, cf. D. Kauffman, *op. cit*, p. 355.

6. *Penner and Bartels*: Although no biographical material can be offered which would definitely identify Penner and Bartels, it may be assumed that Fontane had two historical personages in mind when he wrote their names. This seems all the more likely since both are names common among prominent Mennonites even today.[67]

7. *Obadja Hornbostel*: Fontane considers the name Obadja Hornbostel remarkable enough to have Lehnert comment upon it by observing: "Obadja Hornbostel, a pretty, yet somewhat peculiar name . . . Obadja Hornbostel, I still remember it clearly . . . ."[68]

The Old Testament name Obadja(h), meaning "servant of Jehova," occurs in I Kings 18:3-16, and does not interest us so much as the name Hornbostel.

The following discussion attempts to shed some light upon the mystification involved in the name Hornbostel. Fully realizing the limitations of my purely speculative evidence, I nevertheless offer my musings for what they may be worth.

By putting numerals ranging from 1-9 under the various letters of the name Hornbostel, going from left to right, but marking the *n* of this name by an asterisk, we have the following arrangement:

H o r n b o s t e l.
1 2 3 (*) 4 5 6 7 8 9

Assuming this name to be an anagram, we may change it by the transposition of its letters in such a manner that the sequence of the numerals with their corresponding letters reads:

O b e r h o l t s (n).
4 5 8 3 1 2 9 7 6 (*)

Thus, nine of the ten letters are taken care of, while *n* cannot satisfactorily be placed unless the new name should be Obernholts. The fact brought out below speaks against this assumption.

For there actually exists a prominent Mennonite family with a similar name; one of its branches uses the Low German (or Angli-

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67. *re* Penner, cf. Warkentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-110; *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 42. Jhrg., No. 5, Febr. 1, 1923, *et al.*; *re* Bartel(s), cf. Warkentin, op. cit., p. 13.

With reference to Penner it may be pointed out that Fontane had first intended to use a village in Minnesota (cf. *Briefe an seine Freunde* II:112, May 12, 1886: "Minnesotadorf") as the background for the second part of his novel. According to Rost, *op. cit.*, this village was to be Mountain Lake, Minnesota (Rost fails to give the source for his assertion!). It is interesting to note that "P. A. Penner's home church at Mountain Lake, Minn." is mentioned in Kaufman, *op. cit.*, pp. 152/153. P. A. Penner was too young to be considered for Fontane's Penner (P. A. Penner was born in 1871; cf. Warkentin, *op. cit.*, p. 111) but an older member of his family might well have been the personage thought of by Fontane.

68. *Quitt* 161.

cized?) form *Overholt,* [69] the other branch uses the High German form *Oberhol(t)zer.*[70]

Taking the correctness of our solution of the problem for granted, we may now ask this question: Which one of the many members of the Oberholzer family did Fontane probably have in mind, and why?

When Christian Krehbiel, as stated before, was elected president of the Foreign Mission Board of the General Conference of Mennonites in 1872, one of the four board members was John H. Oberholzer[71] who was to serve in this capacity from 1872-1881.[72] It was this John H. Oberholzer (1809-1895) who thus "helped to establish the mission among the Indians [in the Indian Territory[73]]. He was at all times an ardent supporter of the mission cause and did much to cultivate a general interest in this work."[74]

Aside from his active interest in the Mennonite missionary work in the Indian Territory—which, of course, is pertinent to our study —Oberholzer played various additional important rôles in Mennonite activities. As "a talented young Mennonite preacher in Bucks County, Penna., [he] became separated from the mother Church [in Bucks County] and led the revolt which eventually formed the beginning of what [first became known as the church of the "Oberholzer people" and] is now known as the "General Conference of Mennonites in America."[75] Oberholzer "served this conference as it president for a number of years,"[76] i.e., until 1872 when he resigned.[77]

Besides being considered by the Mennonites as the founder of the first Sunday school in any Mennonite church in America,[78] Oberholzer is also credited with having introduced Mennonite journalism, for he published the first Mennonite church periodical in this

69. Cf. D. Kauffman, *op. cit.*, p. 272.—The name Hornbostel, on the other hand, does not appear at all among the 1592 surnames of all the known Mennonite families in Germany; cf. F. Crous, "Mennonitenfamilien in Zahlen," in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* 5. Jhrg., Aug., 1940, pp. 26-45.

70. D. Kauffman, *op. cit.*, has Oberholtzer, H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, has Oberholzer.

71. Kaufman, *op cit.*, p. 104.

72. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

73. No other Indian missionary work was undertaken until 1893 when the Mennonite mission field in Arizona was opened; cf. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

74. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit,* p. 412.

75. D. Kauffman, *op. cit.*, p. 272, (General Conference) p. 124.

76. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

77. *ibid.*, p. 411.

78. *ibid.*, p. 409.

country. It appeared under the title *Religiöser Botschafter* at Milford, Bucks County, Penna., June 9, 1852, the ultimate successor of which paper still exists today under the name *Christlicher Bundesbote*.[79]

Summarizing our discussion about the name Hornbostel, we may state that the facts presented make it at least highly probable that Fontane desired to hide the true identity of Oberholzer by changing this name to Hornbostel by the device of an anagram. This probability approaches certainty when one realizes that it would surely be a strange coincidence that Fontane, by mere chance, should have invented the name Hornbostel which in turn may conveniently be changed to Oberholts by the transposition of its letters.

Why Fontane should have desired to introduce Oberholzer into his novel at all may simply be owing to the fact that he read, or heard of, the name of this outstanding Mennonite who played an influential part in the Mennonite mission work in the Indian Territory along with Christian Krehbiel, Anthony Shelley, Nickel, Stauffer, Penner, and Bartels. This seems all the more probable when one considers one of Fontane's maxims which frequently, if not usually, ruled his creative activities as a writer: "Nur finden, nicht erfinden."[80]

## III. Fictitious Elements

While the present paper thus far has been concerned with the factual elements in the second part of *Quitt*, the following selected items may justify the title of the paper, "Truth and Fiction . . . in the Second Part of . . . *Quitt*." They are, however, by no means to be construed as an inclination on my part to evaluate disparagingly Fontane's knowledge of the Indian Territory or his methods as a novelist.

Upon viewing the evidence collected during many a careful reading of *Quitt*, the writer is able to put a large number of fictitious elements into one category which might come under the heading of centralization.

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79. Cf. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, pp. 364, 410; H. S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature: A Bibliography of Mennonite Americana* (The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, Goshen, Ind., 1929), p. 92.—For a complete biography of Oberholzer, cf. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-413; D. Kauffman, *op. cit.*, p. 272

80. Fontane's own version of this saying by Spielhagen will be found in the concluding paragraph of the present study.

The central point of the entire second part of the novel undoubtedly is Nogat-Ehre at Darlington. In order to focus the attention upon Obadja's rather restricted world, distances to more remote places are considerably shortened. Thus, because of this artistic consideration, it is possible for Kaulbars to ship the grain of the Mennonite farms down to the Red River,[81]—an air-line distance of at least 105 miles[82] from Darlington. He does not hesitate to do his Christmas shopping at Denver, Colorado,[83] a distance of approximately 500 miles by air line. A few additional examples of this kind are the following:

Lehnert, upon looking out the window of his room at Nogat-Ehre, sees Fort O'Brien (Fort Cantonment)[84] which is supposed to be a two hours' walk[85] from Obadja's private farm. The actual distance by air is fifty miles.—When Christmas approaches, Lehnert and his friends drive in a sleigh to the neighboring Ozark Mountains —actually an air-line distance of at least 150 miles—to fetch some tree moss to be used as the hair and beard for a mask of Rübezahl.[86] —Obadja's Christmas sermon must have been unusually attractive, since his audience partly consisted of members of the garrison at Fort Gibson,[87] 175 air miles away. Finally, when Lehnert needs medical aid, Dr. Morrison is called from the "neighboring" Fort McCulloch,[88] a distance by air of not less than 165 miles.

A second category of fictitious material in *Quitt* could be entitled "pure fiction." A few selected examples may represent this group.

Lehnert, upon approaching Nogat-Ehre for the first time, notices the various farmsteads of the Mennonite colony lying on one side of the road[89] which he names to himself a "Dorfstrasse." This typically German institution of a "Dorfstrasse," of course, cannot be found at Darlington or hardly elsewhere in the United States. Typically German is also Fontane's depiction of Fort O'Brien (Fort Cantonment).[90] We find mentioned the terreplein of a rampart

81. *Quitt* 216.
82. 1 mile equals 1.6 km.
83. *Quitt* 268.
84. *Quitt* 188.
85. *Quitt* 214.
86. *Quitt* 240.
87. *Quitt* 288.
88. *Quitt* 302.
89. *Quitt* 174.
90. *Quitt* 214.

with its protecting palisades, a rather well preserved stone tower at one of the corners of the fort which itself lies in ruins, spiral stairs inside the tower leading to its top. These terms—"Wallgang, Palisaden, Steinturm, Wendeltreppe, Trümmerhaufen"—are apt to conjure up the ruins of a German medieval castle rather than a burnt-down fort in the Indian Territory. It is likewise pure fiction when Lehnert leaves his railroad train at Station Darlington, since, "when the mission work [at Darlington] was begun the nearest railroad station was more than one hundred miles distant."[91] It was not until 1889 that "the Rock Island road came within a mile of the mission [at Darlington]."[92]

A last example may bring this part to a close, although this example might better be included in a category by itself under the title of "misinformation" or "misapprehension."

Fontane in *Quitt* repeatedly speaks of the Arapahoe and Cherokee[93] Indians being the spiritual wards of the Mennonite missionaries in the Indian Territory. As late as 1888 he mentions in a letter[94] that "Cherokees and Arrapahöes—they bear some such names—" are living in the "Indian Territory, which I happen to know as well as Brandenburg."

Yet the Mennonites never undertook any missionary work among the Cherokee Indians who occupied at that time (1880-1889) the northeastern part of the present state of Oklahoma. The southern boundary line of their territory was, roughly, the Arkansas River.[95] The Mennonite missionaries did work, however, among the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians[96] who, ever since the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867, lived in that part of the Indian Territory which forms the background of Fontane's novel *Quitt*.

## IV. Some of Fontane's Sources

Although in one of the more recent studies on Fontane's *Quitt* W. E. Rost refers to Fontane's "diligent study of maps and thor-

91. H. P. Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 315; *ibid.*, p. 285: "As then [1880] no railroad ran near Darlington . . ."

92. *ibid.*, p. 315.

93. *Quitt* 265.

94. *Fontanes Briefe an seine Freunde* (*op. cit.*) II:168-171 (Dec. 28, 1888).

95. Cf. Gittinger, *op. cit.*, Map 1.

96. Cf. the "Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Agency at Concho," approximately 2 miles north of Darlington, where the U. S. Indian agent provides for members of these two tribes.

ough occupation with authentic material"[97] about the North American scene, neither he nor any other author has cited even a single title of this so-called "authentic material."

We must readily concede that Fontane must have had at least one good map in his possession which enabled him to name as many actual localities as he did. A map, however, would have been useless for him in an attempt to become acquainted with those historical personages whom he portrayed in his novel. This concluding part of the present paper endeavors to point out some of the sources which probably were consulted by Fontane for his historical material. The following presentation lays claim to being the first description of Fontane's factual source material for the second part of *Quitt*.

It seems almost as if Fontane wanted to reveal one of his sources himself by referring in *Quitt* to the "Blätter der mennonitischen Genossenschaft."[98] During my search through the issues of various American and German Mennonite periodicals for the years 1880-1885, I found considerable material the relevancy of which strongly suggests that Fontane actually consulted these publications.

The purpose of the following quotations from various Mennonite periodicals is not, of course, to try to prove that Fontane was indebted for any one particular historical reference in *Quitt* to any one particular Mennonite publication, but rather simply to point out that there are good reasons for the assumption that Fontane used Mennonite periodicals as sources for the second part of *Quitt*. The question is irrelevant of whether Fontane read these articles in American or German Mennonite papers,[99] since the articles which appeared in American Mennonite publications soon after were republished in German Mennonite periodicals. Thus, most, if not all, reports on the Mennonite missionary work in the Indian Territory were easily available to Fontane.

1. *"Mennonitische Blätter* zur Belehrung und christlichen Erbau-

97. Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 117. Rost refers in his footnote 277 to Hayens, *op. cit.*, p. 101 f., but Hayens, *l.c.*, fails likewise to give the slightest indication as to Fontane's "authentic material" or his sources. Rost, perhaps feeling the lack of proof for his assertion, modifies his statement on the same page by simply surmising that maps ("die Karte") had to help Fontane out at the description of the North-American locale.

98. *Quitt* 234.

99. The American Mennonite papers, which contain material on the Mennonite mission work in the Indian Territory, are printed in German. Fontane, who knew English well, naturally would have had no difficulties reading reports written in English.

ung zunächst für Mennoniten (begründet von J. Mannhardt, Prediger der Mennoniten-Gemeinde in Danzig)":

Beginning in May, 1880, there appeared in this periodical a sequence of very enlightening articles about "Die Etablierung der Mission unter den Cheyennen und Arapahoen [im Indianer Territorium]," [100] one of the articles referring to "Bruder Nickel [at Darlington]" as stated in part II above.[62] The June, 1882, issue describes the mission house at Darlington which seems to have had some similarities with Obadja's home in *Quitt*. A third and more important article in this publication will be considered in a subsequent part of the text below.[118]

2. "*Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten* (Herausgeber U. Hege in Reihen bei Sinsheim—Kreis Heidelberg)":

The name of the Indian chief Powder-Face occurs in the *Gemeindeblatt*,[37] I found during my searches through Mennonite periodicals. The name Christian Krehbiel also occurs in this periodical: "Besonders verdient um ihr Gedeihen [der Stadt und Mennonitenkolonie in Halstead in Kansas] hat sich . . . auch Herr Christian Krehbiel gemacht, dessen schöne Farm unmittelbar an Halstead anstösst." [101] It is of interest to note that the same article in the *Gemeindeblatt* speaks of "die Marienburger Weichsel- und Nogat-Niederung;" [102] Fontane mentions in *Quitt* "die Nogat- und Weichselniederung." [103] Although the significance of the occurrence of an identical word or phrase both in Mennonite publications and in Fontane's *Quitt* must not be overly stressed, these several occurrences nevertheless strengthen our opinion that Fontane actually consulted these Mennonite papers.

3. "*Christlicher Bundesbote* (Organ der Allgemeinen Konferenz der Mennoniten von Nord-Amerika)": [104]

With the beginning of the year 1883 there appeared various interesting articles about the Mennonite mission work both in Darlington and Cantonment in a column entitled "Missions-Abteilung." Thus, the buildings at Cantonment are described in this manner:

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100. 27. Jhrg., No. 5, May, 1880 ff.

101. 12. Jhrg., No. 12, Dec., 1881, p. 93.

102. *ibid.*

103. *Quitt* 174; Obadja speaks of "von meiner alten heimischen Weichsel- und Nogatgegend" (p. 285).

104. *Christlicher Bundesbote*: Organ der Allgemeinen Konferenz der Mennoniten von Nord-Amerika (Berne, Ind.: Verlagsort; St. Louis, Mo.; first issue Jan. 1882; edited by David Goerz 1882-1885, etc; cf. H. S. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

"Das . . . Backhaus und Hospital sind von Stein gebaut, die übrigen sind sogenannte 'stockade' (Pallisaden) Gebäude."[105] We are reminded of Toby in *Quitt*[106] who tries to remove a stake from the palisade of old Fort O'Brien (Cantonment) in order to build a camp fire. And yet, if Fontane based his description of the palisades on the report just mentioned, he must have misunderstood the term " 'stockade' (Pallisaden) Gebäude," for "palisade houses" (which was the *technical term* used at that time) were not houses surrounded by palisades, but rather houses built of squared logs which were placed *horizontally* one upon the other, similar to the construction of a blockhouse, a log cabin, or a Western lodge.—Of special interest is an article in the *Bundesbote* with the title "Das Weihnachtsfest auf unserer Missionsstation Darlington im Indian Territory."[107] Although Fontane certainly needed no model for a description of a Christmas celebration, it still is noteworthy that he used the same Christmas motive in *Quitt*.[108] That the phrase "die kleinen Rothäute" occurs both in this article[107] and *Quitt*[109] may be purely accidental.—"Brother Peter Stauffer" whom Fontane mentions in *Quitt*[63] likewise is referred to in the *Bundesbote*.[64]

Besides these three Mennonite periodicals, another and more important source must be named, a person who was able to give Fontane first-hand information about the Indian Territory — Paul Lindau.

Paul Lindau (1839-1919), himself a literary figure belonging with Fritz Mauthner, Frenzel, Zolling, Heiberg and others to the Berlin School of realists,[110]—Paul Lindau, the founder of *Das neue Blatt* (Leipzig, 1870) and of the famous monthly *Nord und Süd* (1878), was, with Eduard Lasker,[111] among the German honorary guests participating in the official opening of the Northern Pacific Railroad in September, 1883. Upon the invitation of the first presi-

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105. 2. Jhrg., No. 2, Jan. 15, 1883, p. 15.

106. *Quitt* 298.

107. 2. Jhrg., No. 3, Feb. 1, 1883, p. 23.

108. *Quitt* 264-265; 281 ff.

109. *ibid.*, p. 282.

110. Cf. Mielke-Homann, *Der deutsche Roman des* 19. *und* 20. *Jahrhunderts* (Reissner, Dresden, 1920), pp. 244-245.

111. Cf. *Allgem. dt. Biogr.* XIX:746-753. Lasker, member of the German Diet since 1867, died Jan. 5, 1884, in New York. He was the author of a volume entitled: *Zur Verfassungsgeschichte Preussens* (1875). Cf. the anonymous article "Zur Charakteristik Eduard Laskers" in Lindau's *Nord und Süd* XXIX:122-130 (1884).

dent of this railroad, Henry Villard,[112] Lindau and Lasker traveled through a goodly part of the United States, and Lindau kept notes of what he saw and experienced.[113] Some of his descriptions were published in the *Illinois-Staats-Zeitung,* one of them entitled "Kansas und seine Mennoniten-Ansiedlungen."[114] This article was reprinted both in the *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten*[115] (Hege at Reihen) and in the *Mennonitische Blätter*[116] (Mannhardt at Danzig). The following passage, quoted from the latter publication, has some bearing upon the present investigation:

Die Mennoniten haben ein eigenes halbreligiöses Blatt, das *in Halstead* herausgegeben wird; dort unterhalten sie auch eine *Mennonitenhochschule,* zu der übrigens auch Nicht-Mennoniten Zutritt haben . . . *Als Missionare* entfalten sie eine besondere Tätigkeit und Geschicklichkeit, und haben *in dem benachbarten Indianer-Territorium* in verhältniszmäszig kurzer Zeit schon Ansehnliches geleistet. *Die Mission der Mennoniten,* namentlich unter den Cheyenne-Indianern, ist so erfolgreich gewesen, *dasz ihr von Seiten der Regierung das Fort Cantonment*[117] *vollständig zur Verfügung gestellt worden ist. Jetzt findet man auf den mennonitischen Farmen nicht selten junge Indianer der wildesten Stämme, die sich als Knechte verdungen haben;* und das ist ein Erfolg, der bis jetzt von keinen anderen Mission erzielt worden ist.

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112. Cf. Funk and Wagnalls, *op. cit.,* XXIV:372-373: Villard (1835-1900) was born in Speyer, Rhenish Bavaria. His name was originally Heinrich Hilgard, but he changed it to Villard upon coming to the United States in 1853.—Lindau dedicated his two-volume work *Altes und Neues aus der Neuen Welt* (C. Duncker, Berlin, 1893), an interesting account of his second visit to the United States in 1892, to Villard. (Some of the chapters of these two volumes had separately appeared in *Nord und Süd,* LXII:44-86, 177-202, 308-336 [1892]).

113. This statement may be made on the basis of a sentence in Lindau's *Altes und Neues aus der Neuen Welt* (cf. footnote 118), II:8: "Damals, 1883. . . . Ich schloss meine während der Reise selbst niedergeschriebeie Schilderung [der ganzen nordamerikanischen Reise]. . . ."

Lindau's general impressions about his first American trip in 1883 are published under the title of "Was denken Sie über Amerika?" in *Nord und Süd* XXVII:390-414 (Breslau, 1883).

114. In *Illinois-Staats-Zeitung,* supplement *Der Westen,* No. 25, 1884 (Illinois-Staats-Zeitung-Compagnie, Chicago, Ill.). Mannhardt (cf. footnote 118), *op. cit.,* p. 75, writes: "In Nr. 25 des *Westen,* einer Beilage der Illinois-Staatszeitung, las ich von dem Berliner Schriftsteller Paul Lindau . . . folgenden Aufsatz unter der Überschrift: 'Bericht eines deutschen Reisenden über die Mennoniten-Ansiedlungen in Kansas.'"—I was not able to locate this article in No. 25 of the *Westen* in spite of several attempts.

115. 15. Jhrg., No. 10, Oct. 1884, pp. 76-77 (a brief excerpt of the article in the *Illinois-Staats-Zeitung*).

116. 31. Jhrg., No. 10, Oct., 1884, pp. 75-77 (an excerpt of the article in the *Illinois-Staats-Zeitung,* yet more complete than in the *Gemeindeblatt* (cf. footnote 117).

117. This article mistakenly has "Fort Darlington." The *Gemeindeblatt* (p. 76; cf. footnote 121) has the correct form "Fort Cantonment."

Die günstigen Berichte der südrussischen Mennoniten aus Kansas hatten die Einwanderung von Mennoniten aus der *Nogatniederung* in Westpreuszen zur Folge. Diese preuszichen Mennonite begannen im Jahre 1876 auszuwandern.[118]

From the foregoing passage we may conclude that Lindau was rather well acquainted with the Mennonite missionary activities in the Indian Territory. Without speculating too widely, we may reasonably assume that there exists additional written or printed material about the Indian Territory in the Lindau archives or in the possession of his family,[119] —material to which Fontane may have had access. Even if, however, no additional material about the Indian Territory were to be found there, Paul Lindau nevertheless must be considered as a principal source for Fontane's *Quitt*, for it is only fair to imagine that Lindau's oral accounts—Lindau was praised as a fascinating narrator![120]—stimulated Fontane to such an extent that he either used for his story what he had heard or began to search for usable material in various Mennonite publications. But did Fontane know Lindau well enough to gain from him information about the Mennonite missionary work in the Indian Territory either in written or oral form?

Fontane addresses Lindau in a letter of the year 1872 with "Sehr geehrter Herr und Freund."[121] In a later letter he mentions: "I met [Berthold Auerbach] in the home of Lindau ("bei Lindau")."[122] In a third letter we hear: "What does Lindau know about it—for whom, by the way, I have a tender feeling ("ein Tendre"), a weakness in my heart ("eine Schwäche")."[123]

These quotations may suffice to indicate that Fontane considered

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118. p. 77; cf. footnote 116.

119. The present author had intended to spend his sabbatical leave (January-September, 1939) in Germany to collect this pertinent material both in the Lindau and Fontane archives. The political situation in Europe made this impossible. It is hoped that a future study, which will be undertaken by someone closer to these archives, will unearth the material to be expected. With reference to Fontane, the Märkische Museum and Herr Verlagsbuchhändler Friedrich Fontane at Neuruppin perhaps would be willing to open Fontane's archives for this purpose.

120. Cf. footnote 117.

121. *Fontanes Briefe an seine Freunde* (*op cit.*) I:297 (June 14, 1872).

122 *ibid.*, II:182 (March 22, 1889); cf. also Jos. Ettlinger, *Aus dem Nachlass von Theodor Fontane* (F. Fontane & Co., Berlin, 1908), pp. 270/271: "Ich entsinne mich eines Tages, den ich bei Lindau in grosser Gesellschaft zubrachte. Bayard Taylor (eben zum amerikanischen Gesandten ernannt) war da, mit ihm Auerbach, Lasker, Professor Ihering und viele andere noch . . . Solche Tage hat gerade Lindau zu hunderten in Szene gesetzt, zu seiner und vielleicht mehr noch zu seiner Gäste Freude."

123. *ibid.*, II:208 (Aug. 14, 1889).

Lindau his friend, frequented his home, and had a strong liking for him. It therefore is very probable that Fontane was in a position to obtain from Lindau first-hand information about the Mennonites in Kansas and Oklahoma.

That this assumption, however, is closer to fact than probability is indicated by Fontane's reference in *Quitt* to the "Nord-Pacific-Bahn [in Dakota]."[124] What reason other than that he was making use of the information imparted to him by Lindau would Fontane have had for referring to the Northern Pacific Railroad, since this railroad is not the only one that runs through (North) Dakota?

In concluding this study, we may say in the light of our findings that Fontane was true to his maxim "Nur finden, nicht erfinden"—or in his own words: "Everything depends upon the selection of one's material. One's taste is the deciding factor. He who understands his business does not need to produce, only to edit ("nicht produzieren, nur redigieren")."[125]

The material which Fontane found and had to revise, in all probability, presented itself in various Mennonite publications and in written and oral accounts by Paul Lindau. Fontane made use of actual localities and historical personages that he had encountered in these sources. Thus are at least partly invalidated the statements of literary critics that Fontane had not the slightest knowledge of the American scene, that he attempted to compensate for his inability to present a foreign milieu by creating an imaginary scene of his own, and that Fontane's description of the Indian Territory was drawn from his imagination. Even though he did not adhere to facts alone, but made use of his privilege as a writer to cover the actuality of his novel with a veil of fancy, the criticisms just mentioned are untenable in their present form and must be modified. Although Fontane seems to have had a rather intimate knowledge of the American scene, based upon printed, written, or oral reports or all three, he did not hesitate to draw from his imagination[126] in depicting the background of the second part of *Quitt*.

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124. *Quitt* 161.

125. Quoted from Rosenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

126. In spite of Fontane's creative endeavors, the second part of *Quitt* may still be said to belong to the weaker among his literary products as far as local color and atmosphere are concerned; cf. Wandrey, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

# ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE DECISIONS OF MENNONITE BOYS OF DRAFT AGE*

Robert Kreider

I regret that this paper cannot partake of the statistical exactness originally desired. At this early date summary information on the young Mennonite drafted men (civilian public service, noncombatant military service, and regular military service) is not available. Perhaps a year or two hence we shall have the materials at hand to offer a more scientifically valid analysis of the problem.

In lieu of such summary statistical data, I have sought to gather objective material in several ways. Thirty-five different Mennonite ministers and laymen have shared through correspondence their interpretations and observations. From ministers I have received brief case studies of 179 young men who have been drafted—102 serving in one of the military branches and 77 in C.P.S. camps. Also, I have used the technique of the informal interview and discussion.

A fundamental assumption in this entire study is this, that the behavior of an individual is profoundly affected by environmental factors—religious, sociological, economic, psychological. Implied in our Mennonite faith is this belief that man is molded by his environment. Mennonites of all ages have been deeply concerned about the type of home, community, church, and economy within which the young generation is nurtured.

Innumerable environmental and sociological factors have been brought to my attention as being significant in this study. First, it must be made clear that the generalizations offered here are of a tentative nature. They are simply hypotheses. Moreover, no one factor alone seems to explain the choice of a draftee. A number of influences may converge upon the young man confronted with the draft. In many cases conflicting factors compete for dominance in the mind of an individual. We are all well aware that when we peer into the realm of the individual conscience there remains much which is unexplainable. Visible, tangible, measurable sociological factors do not explain all. Not subject to measurement is the power of the spirit.

* A paper read at the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems, Winona Lake, Indiana, August 8, 1942.

To lend system to this study, I have grouped the environmental factors according to several headings: the church, the home, the community, and other associations. First we consider the influence of the church and the individual's relationship to the church.

## I. THE CHURCH

The Mennonite churches which have cultivated and cherished the traditional principles of the Mennonite heritage have a high percentage of C.O.'s. These are the churches which have kept alive those basic principles of faith: believers' baptism, freedom of conscience, nonresistance, nonswearing of oaths, the simple life, nonconformity, brotherly love, and mutual aid. These are the churches which have maintained their conservatism on ethical issues. They have continuously emphasized their nonconformity to the world in all phases of religious and social conduct. When a church has encouraged nonconformity in all phases of life it is less difficult for such a church to be nonconformist in the hour of crisis when the church is called to make its witness of nonresistance. As one has stated, "The teaching in these churches has been so thorough, basic, persistent that they believe to be a Mennonite can mean only one thing and that is a C.O. position." The nonresistant stand of these Mennonite groups is so clearly understood by all who unite with the church, that all know that to take other than the C.O. stand means to be out of fellowship with the church. A natural corollary to this mutual understanding of the church is the administration of disciplinary sanctions upon those who fail to live up to the peace ideals of the brotherhood. Branches of the church which discipline their young men who take up military service have a higher ratio of C.O.'s. The disciplinary techniques differ, however, in degree of rigidity among the churches. The hour of decision for the young men of these traditional, disciplinary groups is not the time of the questionnaire's arrival, but the day of their union with the church.

Now for a comparison of the several branches of the Mennonite church on the ratio of C.O.'s to church members. To be noted is the fact that the conservative branches, the more traditional groups, the groups which have employed disciplinary techniques have the higher ratio of C.O.'s. This data is taken as of June 24, 1942. The average ratio for all Mennonite groups is one C.P.S. man to 99 church members. A word of qualification should be added. At this date in

the C.P.S. program, the following ratios can be no more than crude indexes of the C.O. position of the respective Mennonite groups.

| | *Membership* | *Men in C.P.S. Camp* | *Ratio* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old Order Mennonite | 1544 | 25 | 1 to 68 |
| Old Order Amish | 12085 | 174 | 1 to 69 |
| Church of God in Christ, Mennonite (Holdeman) | 2800 | 40 | 1 to 70 |
| Conservative Amish | 3440 | 41 | 1 to 84 |
| Old and Amish Mennonite | 50893 | 529 | 1 to 96 |
| Evangelical Menn. Brethren | 1172 | 12 | 1 to 98 |
| Mennonite Brethren | 7650 | 74 | 1 to 103 |
| Krimmer Menn. Brethren | 1000 | 9 | 1 to 111 |
| General Conference | 26842 | 235 | 1 to 114 |
| Central Conference | 3327 | 25 | 1 to 133 |
| Menn. Brethren in Christ | 2630 | 13 | 1 to 202 |
| Brethren in Christ | 5226 | 21 | 1 to 249 |
| Defenceless Mennonite | 1550 | 6 | 1 to 258 |

Some Mennonite congregations have continuously emphasized the Christian peace principle, but have not approached the peace witness so much from the angle of the Mennonite heritage. Such churches with a consistent peace program in the Sunday school, young people's groups and other church activities have a high percentage of C.O.'s. However, they have utilized a different educational approach to the peace principle than the more traditional churches.

Congregations at a great distance from the areas of concentration of their branch, and congregations which are isolated, have fewer C.O.'s. In such isolated congregations the participation in Mennonite conference activities is more limited. The churches do not have that high degree of Mennonite consciousness which is in evidence where there are adjoining communities populated with Mennonites of their conference. These solitary congregations have lost in some instances the sense of *belonging* to the Mennonites. Illustrative of this factor are the churches of the Pacific District of the General Conference. Located at a great distance from the major General Conference settlements and too far away to be under the direct influence of their church college, the West Coast churches have a record of 12 boys in C.P.S. to 36 in the armed forces.

Perhaps, too, the size of the home congregation has its effect as an environmental factor. I believe that there is an optimum sized congregation for spiritual and ethical vitality—not too large and not too small.

It would seem that congregations which have become imitative of modern Protestantism in terms of worship, organization, activities, and theology have lost something of the consistency of the peace witness, simply because they have lost some of their historic Mennonite faith. One minister observes:

> Generally we have not emphasized the traditional principles of the Mennonite Church as we should have. We have been passing through a period when less emphasis was placed on our differences and more on our common faith. We discovered that as churches we did not have to fight with other denominations to keep our own church in existence . . . we united in a common Christian effort. In so doing I believe we also compromised at least at times. With our principles being emphasized less our young people in many instances were led to believe that we were not different from other church groups. This idea found acceptance because of the social desire for group approval.

Religious and social imitation of modern Protestantism may lead imperceptibly to the compromising of our historic peace witness.

It is a definite conclusion that congregations under the spell of non-Mennonite Bible institutes have fewer C.O.'s. In some of our churches the Bible institute influence eats away at that which is distinctively Mennonite. From the non-Mennonite Bible schools often comes a dogmatic, militaristic theological system incompatible with and foreign to orthodox Mennonite theology and practice. Bible institute theology finds it impossible to reconcile the Old Testament and Biblical nonresistance. Bible institute theology is often preoccupied with pre-millennialist prophecy and speculation. To criticize the influence of the non-Mennonite Bible schools is not enough. We as Mennonites need Bible schools, Bible courses for the non-college Mennonite youth, but we need *Mennonite* Bible schools!

The leadership of the pastor or pastors is tremendously significant. The minister may have much to do with the spiritual and nonresistant nurture of the young Mennonite and he may be a vital influence when the young man confronts the crisis of conscription. We are all aware of the general qualities which make for a consecrated, effective Christian ministry. Beyond that the minister must have a continuous peace testimony if he is to be a positive determining factor for nonresistance. Many are the churches among certain branches which have very few C.O.'s simply because of an inept, non-pacifist, yes, "non-Mennonite" ministry.

What ministerial qualities are needed to produce C.O.'s? First, men are needed in the ministry who are Mennonites—men who have a deep appreciation for the Mennonite nonresistant heritage. Non-

resistance is not one of those tenets of faith which can just be taken for granted. There must be peace sermons. There should be continuous instruction in nonresistance, with no letup in postwar periods. Mennonite congregations which have no C.O.'s or very few are often the ones which have had a weakly nonresistant Mennonite ministry. Second, to be a positive influence the minister should have a thorough understanding of the C.P.S. program and must be active in disseminating correct information regarding the IV-E classification. It is a tragedy to note the number of young Mennonites now in the army simply because of ignorant pastoral leadership. A further quality necessary in the minister is an interest in and readiness to guide the young men in the difficult task of filling out questionnaires and in overcoming technical problems with difficult draft boards. Many ministers have been very helpful to their young men through systematic visitation, use of questionnaires, being available at all times for counseling, or meeting with the young men collectively. But, unfortunately, there are young Mennonites in the army today because of the inexpert and disinterested leadership of the home minister during the critical period of questionnaires, appeals, etc.

We have spoken of the qualities of the minister. It might be added that congregations without the leadership of a regular pastor may have fewer C.O.'s. Also, churches with a frequently shifting pastoral leadership seem to have fewer C.O.'s. The longer the span of a nonresistant pastor's ministry, the more significant generally his influence. It has been suggested that the conservative groups with an unsalaried ministry have a much more influential pastoral leadership. The period of service of the unsalaried minister is much longer certainly than the salaried minister. Is it true that the more conservative a group, the more powerful and the greater the prestige of the leader?

Substantiated by almost all of the case studies and by the observations of those interviewed is the fact that the greater the degree of participation of the young Mennonite in organized church activities, the more the likelihood he will seek C.O. status. Nonchurch members and irregular church attendants are less inclined to be C.O.'s. The church has little opportunity to cultivate in these boys the nonresistant faith. They just weren't there to be cultivated. Those who have been delinquent in church attendance have been resisting church pressures and appeals all along the way. Many of these young men are the ones who have not been living up to the

ethical and spiritual ideals of the church. Among this group are to be found the ones associating with the "fast crowd," the ones who look with disdain upon the church. Though not subject to measurement, it would nevertheless seem that the depth of the spiritual life of the Mennonite youth has a direct correlation with his acceptance of the C.O. position. Individuals who have been inactive and irregular in church affairs realize that it is "not quite consistent to take a heroic stand for peace when they are not giving wholehearted support to the church program." Now to validate these generalizations. First, the noncombatants and those in regular army service: Out of 83 cases studied, 46 were found to have been inactive; 17 were only fair in attendance but not active; 20 were regular church attendants and active participants. In other words, only 24 per cent of the young Mennonites in the army were active members in their home churches. As to the C.O.'s: Out of a total of 59 cases studied, 6 were irregular and inactive church attendants; 8 were fair church attendants; while 45 were active. Seventy-six per cent of the IV-E men were thus active members in their home churches.

## II. THE HOME

An even more fundamental cultural influence than the church is the Mennonite home. Among us the family is of prime importance in the molding of character and determining the decisions of youth. Though the minister be nonresistant in message and deed, the attitudes and decisions of the home stand regardless of what the minister advises. The family is important in stabilizing and maintaining the peace testimony of the church. What attributes of family life encourage the C.O. stand among the children? The parents of C.O.'s are faithful, active churchgoers. Among 74 C.O.'s of which we have case sketches, only two C.O.'s are reported to have come from homes where the parents were poor church members or where the home was disorganized. Presumably the other 72 cases are from homes where the parents are faithful church members and encourage the sons in their C.O. stand.

Observation leads to the following conclusions: C.O.'s come from homes where the parents have given the children basic peace training. C.O.'s come from homes where nonresistant means are used by parents in overcoming evil. They are the homes where the highest value is not placed on quarter sections of land or bank accounts or Buicks or society columns but upon the things of the spirit, upon the value

of conscience. The home of the C.O. is one where the family traditions are cultivated and encouraged—such family traditions as respect and obedience to the counsel and leadership of the parents, family worship, family church attendance, reunions, frequent visits with the relatives, and so forth. In the home of the C.O. the parents are actively concerned about guiding the decisions of the youth into the correct channels.

The homes of the young Mennonites who go into the army often present a contrast. In many of these homes the parents are not too active and faithful as church members. In some of the homes the children have been deprived of peace training. A few Mennonite parents have even encouraged their sons to seek I-A or I-A-O classification. Unfortunately some of the homes of the noncombatants and the regular service men have been disorganized. There are homes where the parents have failed to exercise proper parental authority. The report on the cases of boys who have gone into the army substantiates these hypotheses: Of 46 cases studied, 16 boys came from homes where the parents were faithful church folk; but 16 came from homes where the parents were inactive, irregular church attendants; 6 were from homes where there was no peace training and where the sons were actually encouraged to enter the army; 4 were from disrupted and disorganized homes; 4 were from homes where the parents failed to exercise proper authority.

There seem to be Mennonite homes where the children are undernourished in ethical and spiritual training. Some parents have assumed no responsibility to their children regarding their draft decisions. Because of indifference, they have said that it is entirely up to the son to decide what form of service to take. Often the son does not have the facts nor the mature judgment to make an intelligent decision.

It would appear that the family is a weaker social institution among urban Mennonites than among rural. Many competitive attractions drain the city family of its strength, unity, and solidarity. In the city the individual, not the family, is the unit of society. In rural areas the Mennonite family is stronger because the family is the basic social and economic unit. Parental influence seems, therefore, to be a greater determinative factor in the rural areas than in the urban.

Sometimes the authoritarian C.O. direction of the parents may have its undesirable side. Because of the weight of home pressures,

some young men go to C.P.S. camps without a definite nonresistant commitment and perhaps against their own inner wishes. Some "go C.O." to satisfy the parents. I am convinced that many who choose noncombatant service rather than unqualified army service, do so to appease in part parental and church desires.

## III. THE COMMUNITY

In consideration of the community influences affecting the Mennonite draftee we are concerned about the type of community (rural or urban), the occupation, the community social controls, the psychological tenor of the wider community.

Out of rural communities come the great majority of the men of Mennonite Civilian Public Service Camps. Approximately 85 per cent of the Mennonites at Camp Colorado Springs are of farm background. This undoubtedly is typical of other M.C.C.-operated camps. Mennonites of urban communities produce fewer C.O.'s. To be a conscientious objector to war in an urban environment is not an impossibility; it is simply more difficult to be a C.O. in the city. Why is it more difficult?

In the city is found a multiplication of the influences of secularization. The urban environment weakens the family unit—basic to the Mennonite culture. In the city the processes of social accommodation set in. Non-Mennonite associations multiply. Mennonites begin to join Rotary clubs, Kiwanis clubs, women's auxiliaries for this and that. They may even begin to engage in political activities. The children are sent to the city schools. In the city the two basic Christian institutions, the home and the church, can be so easily pushed into the background. Folks of the city, workers in the factories and offices, lose the rugged independence of the tiller of the soil. The Mennonite in the city can become so compromised in his behavior, so enmeshed in community and occupational activities, that he finds it difficult to extricate himself from his urban world to make the witness against war. A host of subtle social sanctions press in upon the urban Mennonite urging him to conform. Though the first generation Mennonite in the city may be able to resist the forces of urbanization and secularization, the second generation is more apt to succumb to such forces and the Mennonite nonresistant position may then be dropped by the wayside.

Among the General Conference Mennonites the urban churches of the industrial East have a far lower number of C.O.'s than the

rural churches of the Middle West. From his study of secularization among the Mennonites of Elkhart County, Indiana, Karl Baehr shares the following information:

> Around Goshen the deviations from following the peace witness of the church were directly related to urbanization. The urban churches whether Old Mennonite or Central Conference had a poorer showing than rural churches. All rural churches, with the exception of the Conservative Amish where one went to the army, had 100 per cent records. . . .

Mennonites who engage in business, or in industrial and professional occupations, are less inclined to be C.O.'s. These non-farm occupations draw folk to the towns and cities, where they are subject to urban influences. Mennonites in the shops, in the offices, in the laboratories, in the factories, are in close daily contact with many who do not believe as they do. Living and working in a non-pacifist and non-Mennonite world, it is difficult for the Mennonite to stand up courageously and be a nonconformist — a C.O. The factory worker and the business man have a more difficult time to live by their convictions. Therefore their sons are also affected. Young men have said, "It surely takes a lot of courage to be a C.O. amidst all the other fellows with whom one works in the shop and factory." In the study of 64 cases of Mennonites who have gone to the army only 16 per cent were farmers by occupation; 84 per cent were engaged in non-farm occupations. In the reports of 535 Mennonite C.O.'s from five camps 53 per cent were found to be farmers by occupation. I suspect that the percentage may really be ten to fifteen points higher.

Employment in defense industries breaks down the young Mennonite's convictions on the peace principle. One minister writes:

> A number of these men (employed in defense industries) come from homes where the parents are loyal and devoted to the church, but they say, "Where else can I get a job?" Many of these men are on night shifts and sleep in the daytime, hence they seldom come to church.

Another minister writes:

> Most of the young people find employment in the industries in the area, either in the factories or offices. They were employed there during normal peacetime conditions. Before we were in the war, and more intensively since that time, most of these factories were diverted into the making of war materials. When the draft came along they found themselves in a difficult position. They recognized the inconsistency of claiming exemption to serving in the army when they had been gainfully employed in the making of defense materials.

I have observed that the more completely a town or country community is Mennonite in constituency, the more likely it is that the

Mennonite group will have a high ratio of C.O.'s. Communities which are solidly Mennonite have the best record on the C.O. issue. Mennonites in mixed communities find it more difficult to preserve the unity of their culture because of the competing influences of the non-peace groups. I believe that there is a direct correlation between the clannishness and solidarity and isolation of the Mennonite community and the maintenance of the C.O. stand. We may ask, does the preservation of the Mennonite heritage necessitate a return to community and cultural insularity?

Mennonites who live and work on the periphery of the Mennonite community, with many of their social and economic associations non-Mennonite, are often tempted to relax in their Mennonitism. For example, in a rural community such folk may live some distance from the meetinghouse. The children have few Mennonite associates. Not being in the heart of the Mennonite community, not being "in the thick of it" (as someone has described it) they are apart from those religious and social sanctions which enforce maintenance of the Mennonite faith.

Mennonites living and working in non-Mennonite communities away from home influences are less apt to seek the IV-E classification. Living apart from the social and religious controls of parents, church, and community, the young men may face the impact of conscription alone and without home religious counsel. Of the cases studied only three C.O.'s were found to be working and living away from the home community. On the other hand, of the young Mennonites in the army, 13 were away from home influence.

It has been suggested that the wider community surrounding the Mennonite community has its influence upon the draft decisions of Mennonite young men. If there is a ring of hostile eyes and intolerant voices surrounding the Mennonite settlements, the timid C.O. souls may seek shelter in noncombatant or regular army service. If the wider community is democratic and tolerant, as many American communities are, then this may lend encouragement to those taking the C.O. stand. However, persecution often fortifies the faith, and tolerance weakens the faith.

Anti-C.O. spirit in a community among non-Mennonites may force some young men to abandon their C.O. stand. In its more sinister forms it takes on the nature of organized vigilante groups who go about threatening young men known to be C.O.'s. Another negative influence on the nonresistant position is the attitude of unsympathetic

and severe draft boards. Through some of the coercive and arbitrary techniques employed by some draft boards, some less courageous and less certain C.O.'s are frightened away from claiming or appealing for IV-E classification.

## IV. EDUCATION AND PERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS

We consider finally the environmental factor of education, of personal associations, and several miscellaneous influences.

This is only a conjecture, but I wonder whether it is not true that in Mennonite circles there is a higher percentage of C.O.'s among those who go no further than the eighth grade than among the groups that attend high school and the groups that go to college. The boy who concludes his education with the eighth grade is generally the one who will return to the farm, stay at home, remain in the community, not be subject to the secularizing influence of the secondary schools. I have no statistical data as yet to support this observation, but there is no doubt that the modern high school is a secularizing agent, weaning young Mennonites away from the Mennonite mode of living. A host of secular, compromising influences rain down upon the youth when he steps into the high school. The pressure comes not so much from the teachers as from the fellow students who urge conformity in many subtle ways.

There seems to be a high mortality rate among young Mennonites who attend state and secular schools of higher learning. The reasons are many, as to why they might forfeit the peace position: They come from families which are perhaps disinterested in the church college; they are away from home; they have a new set of non-Mennonite associates; they are on the receiving end of several years of secular teaching. There are exceptions to this rule, however, for some have been strengthened in their pacifist convictions through study in a non-Mennonite academic institution. Young Mennonites who receive their training at a Mennonite college or academy will probably be devoted C.O.'s. Our Mennonite institutions of higher learning aid in preserving the peace testimony of the church. One minister writes:

> Even though the home has made its contribution and the church has faithfully carried out and presented its claims, I think the young person who, for the first time, is facing many of the problems of life seriously and rationally, and whose ideals and ideas are often in flux, is most readily reached in college.

During this formative period, the Mennonite college can do much to mold the nonresistant thinking of the youth. However, even a Mennonite college opens up to a youth a number of diverting secular influences. He may learn the techniques of rationalizing his behavior. A final conclusion regarding the influence of education is that youth trained in non-Mennonite Bible institutes are often robbed of their appreciation for the Mennonite heritage—the nonresistant witness.

We have information on the higher education of 36 noncombatants and regulars. Of the 36 who studied beyond high school, 20 attended state universities and colleges; 7 attended both state and Mennonite schools; 7 attended Mennonite institutions; 2 attended Bible institutes. Compare this with the 54 cases of C.O.'s who went on to college: 6 attended non-Mennonite institutions; 5 attended Bible institutes; 12 attended both Mennonite and non-Mennonite colleges; while 31 attended Mennonite colleges exclusively. There is need for a much more thorough study of this factor of higher education before we can make any definitive statements.

The principle of "follow the leader" has its sociological effect on the decisions of Mennonite youth. If the early draftees of the group, the church, or the community, "go C.O.," others who follow will be encouraged to do the same. If many of the first assignees of the group choose military service, those who come after may be inclined to "go regular." Especially is this true if the early assignees are leaders in their group, church, or community.

Young Mennonites with predominantly non-Mennonite friendships and associations are less inclined to be C.O.'s. If Mennonite youth seek their friendships outside of the Mennonite fellowship, they may have pressed upon them in a thousand subtle ways secular standards and ideals foreign to the Mennonites. Unconsciously they may be led to compromise certain of the ethical ideals of the Mennonites in order to establish rapport with their non-Mennonite friends. When the Mennonite young man accommodates himself to his non-Mennonite social set and along comes conscription, he feels the weight of conformity on the issue of military service. He wishes to continue to look well in the eyes of his gang. He cannot suddenly sever all group connections and stand forth heroically as a nonconformist to war. Forty cases of Mennonites entering military service reveal the following facts: 7 associated principally with Mennonites; 5 associated with both Mennonites and non-Mennonites; while 28

associated almost exclusively with non-Mennonites. Contrast this with the cases of 25 Mennonite C.O.'s: 4 associated with non-Mennonites principally; 2 associated with both Mennonites and non-Mennonites; and 19 found their friendship largely among Mennonite youth.

There are a number of lesser factors which lead young Mennonites to enter the armed forces. Some individuals place a high premium on money and status, perhaps through the indirect conditioning of the home. They go to the army where there is money and preferment and position. However, not always is the financial consideration quite such a base type of motivation. The financial burden placed upon the C.O. causes some boys to choose noncombatant service even though they are essentially C.O. by conviction.

Some Mennonites have registered I-A or I-A-O, rather than IV-E, because they thought thereby they would have better chances with their local draft boards for deferment on the grounds of physical disability or dependency. It must be admitted that young Mennonites who resorted to this method of escape from the draft do not represent the most devout and courageous strata of C.O.'s.

Finally, there are to be found occasionally Mennonite boys who are at heart conscientious objectors but who have felt that the present C.P.S. program is an inadequate alternative to regular military or noncombatant service. As one young man has said, he wants no special privileges during time of war. He believes that he can make just as effective a wtness for peace through noncombatant service.

## V. CONCLUSION

In conclusion I wish to repeat that the generalizations of this paper are no more than tentative conclusions. Each generalization has its exceptions. I look forward to continuing this study—refining the techniques of investigation, probing aspects of the subject unexplored to date, making use of statistical data not yet available. I sense that this problem of environmental influences can be a very significant area of study. Through observation, statistical analysis, and interpretation, we may be able to gain a keener insight into the factors necessary for the preservation and enrichment of our Mennonite nonresistant heritage.

A good barometer of the degree to which a group is keeping faith with the Mennonite heritage is its record of consistency on the prin-

(Concluded on page 275)

# ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

SILAS HERTZLER

Fourteen Mennonite schools and colleges are included in the 1941-1942 tabulation of attendance statistics. One academy, included last year, the Tabor Bible School, of Dalmeny, Saskatchewan, did not send a reply this year. Statistics for the Corn Bible School of Corn, Oklahoma, were taken from the correspondence section of THE MENNONITE WEEKLY REVIEW. Immanuel Bible School is a combination of two previous schools, the Dinuba Bible School and the Reedley Bible School. The names and addresses of these schools and colleges are as follows:

Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Corn Bible School, Corn, Oklahoma
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
German-English Academy, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Herbert Bible School, Herbert, Saskatchewan
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Immanuel Bible School, Reedley, California
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Zoar Academy and Bible School, Inman, Kansas

The institutions included in this report are arranged alphabetically in a few cases, but in most cases, as in Table I, according to gross enrollment. Goshen College had the largest total enrollment of 519. When this number is analyzed, however, one finds that 72 of these men and women were largely of high school grade, and attended for six weeks only. Table II shows further that Bethel's total of 417 college students is higher than Goshen's full-time college students, since Goshen had 106 part-time people. This detail is shown in the footnote to the table. By classes, the statistics show that Bethel had more students in each of the college classes than Goshen. Bluffton has the third largest number of college students. Nine of the schools named have some college students. There were seniors in four colleges; juniors in five institutions; sophomores in seven schools; fresh-

men in nine schools. Besides the degree granting colleges, three schools seem to be well organized junior colleges. Two of the Canadian academies give one year of college work. The total number of college students is less than a year ago, due no doubt to men being called into government service.

Table III shows that all the degree granting four-year colleges have some students who are not of college grade. Bethel, Goshen, and Bluffton have no organized academy departments, but students who have not finished high school are accepted in case they have special interests, such as Bible, music, and art. Seven of these schools have well organized academies, and give a complete high school course, leading to diplomas. The Canadian students complete this work in three years, while the schools located in the United States require four years.

Table IV shows that thirteen distinct Mennonite groups are represented in the student bodies of these schools. Several Mennonite groups which have been represented by a few students in the past show no students enrolled this year. The 2,218 Mennonites is a larger total than any year since 1938-39. The (old) Mennonites have 994 students in six colleges and academies. There are 758 General Conference Mennonites attending eleven schools. The 260 Mennonite Brethren students are enrolled in eight institutions. Other Mennonite groups have a smaller total number of students, and also are attending fewer schools.

The non-Mennonite student totals are summarized in Table V. Thirty distinct Christian bodies are included among the students. The range of denominational affiliation is widely varied. Included are Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, and members of the Christian Science Church, as well as numerous other Protestant bodies.

Mennonite students in these schools are at home in 27 states, the District of Columbia, five provinces of Canada, two countries of South America, as well as in China and India. Of these students 1,336, or almost 60 per cent, are from the five states of Kansas, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Virginia. Table VI gives the exact details by schools and by states. The statistics for the 600 non-Mennonites are given in Table VII. These students are at home in 18 states, in 3 provinces of Canada, and in Brazil.

Tables VIII and IX analyze further the Mennonite students. In college there are 1,151 students. There are 1,067 doing high school,

Bible, music, or art work of academy grade. Several schools failed to separate men and women students, so it is not possible to be accurate on this point. Such statistics as are available for Mennonite students are given in Tables VIII and IX. Table XI gives the available data for both Mennonites and non-Mennonites. Summer session summaries for the three schools having summer students, are given in Table X.

A wide variety of bachelor's degrees is shown in Table XIII. The B.A. is the most popular degree, though there are seven other bachelor's degrees conferred. The Th.B. degree was given at three colleges. At Goshen College this degree is now being made to represent five years of college work, or at least one year beyond the B.A. Several other diplomas are given on completion of two years of college. These diplomas represent special education for teachers, for church workers, and for less specialized types of general preparation for life. High School diplomas were given to 169 students in seven schools.

Table I

TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

| School | College | Academy | Bible | Other Departments | Total Enrollment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Goshen College | 447[2] | ... | 72[1] | .. | 519 |
| Bethel College | 417 | ... | .. | 70[3] | 487 |
| Eastern Mennonite School | 78 | 257 | 90[1] | 17[4] | 442 |
| Hesston College | 76 | 126 | 72[9] | 4[4] | 278 |
| Bluffton College | 221 | ... | .. | 52[5] | 273 |
| Tabor College | 130 | 47 | .. | .. | 177 |
| Freeman Junior College | 58[8] | 81 | 7 | .. | 146 |
| German-English Academy | 34 | 73 | .. | .. | 107 |
| Oklahoma Bible Academy | ... | 66 | 28[6] | .. | 94 |
| Mennonite Collegiate Institute | 33 | 48 | .. | .. | 81 |
| Corn Bible Academy | ... | 68 | .. | .. | 68[11] |
| Zoar Academy and Bible School | ... | 33 | 25[7] | .. | 58 |
| Immanuel Bible School | ... | 55[10] | .. | .. | 55 |
| Herbert Bible School | ... | 33 | .. | .. | 33 |
| Totals | 1494 | 887 | 294 | 143 | 2818 |

1 Bible students for six weeks only.
2 Five correspondence students of college grade.
3 Non credit music students, not of college grade.
4 Correspondence students not of college grade.
5 Music and art students not of college grade.
6 Bible students for five weeks.
7 Teacher training students.
8 Three correspondence students of college grade.
9 Seventy-one Bible students for six weeks, one special Bible student.
10 This school reports 50 music students and 19 art students, not counted in the summarized total.
11 *Mennonite Weekly Review,* September 17, 1941.

## Table II

ENROLLMENT BY CLASSES, COLLEGE STUDENTS, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

| College | Seniors | Juniors | Sopho-mores | Freshmen | Special | Summer | Other Depts. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Goshen College | 35 | 43 | 69 | 113 | .. | 71[6] | 116[2] | 447 |
| Bethel College | 48 | 47 | 90 | 136 | 7 | 79 | 10[1] | 417 |
| Bluffton College | 35 | 42 | 52 | 46 | 22 | 24 | .. | 221 |
| Tabor College | 2 | 14 | 45 | 65 | .. | .. | 4[3] | 130 |
| E. M. S. | .. | 2 | 21 | 44 | 11[7] | .. | .. | 78 |
| Hesston College | .. | .. | 30[8] | 38[9] | 4 | .. | 4[4] | 76 |
| Freeman Jr. Col. | .. | .. | 17 | 38 | .. | .. | 3[5] | 58 |
| German-English Acad. | .. | .. | .. | 34 | .. | .. | .. | 34 |
| Menn. Collegiate Inst. | .. | .. | .. | 33 | .. | .. | .. | 33 |
| Total | 120 | 148 | 324 | 547 | 44 | 174 | 137 | 1494 |

1 Six civilian public service camp students and post graduates.
2 Five correspondence students, five post graduates, and 106 part time students.
3 Unclassified.
4 Extension.
5 Correspondence.
6 19 spring term students; 52 summer session.
7 Seven junior college specials; four college Bible specials.
8 Two of this number are seniors in the two year Christian workers course.
9 Eight of this number are juniors in the two year Christian workers course.

## Table III

ENROLLMENT BY CLASSES, STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES 1941-42

| | High School Classes | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| School | Seniors | Juniors | Sopho-mores | Freshmen | Bible | Other Depts. | Total |
| E. M. S. | 83 | 76 | 43 | 52 | 90[1] | 2[2] | 364 |
| Hesston College | 39 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 72[1] | 4[3] | 202 |
| Oklahoma Bible Academy | 13 | 15 | 9 | 29 | .. | 28[6] | 94 |
| Freeman Junior College | 21 | 22 | 19 | 19 | 7[8] | .. | 88 |
| German-English Academy | .. | 38 | 27 | 8 | .. | .. | 73[9] |
| Goshen College | .. | .. | .. | .. | 72[1] | .. | 72 |
| Bethel College | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 70[4] | 70 |
| Corn Bible School | .. | .. | .. | .. | 68 | .. | 68 |
| Zoar Academy & Bible School | .. | .. | 16 | 17 | 25[7] | .. | 58 |
| Immanuel Bible School | .. | .. | 13 | 32 | .. | 10[8] | 55 |
| Bluffton College | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 52[5] | 52 |
| Menn. Collegiate Institute | .. | 25 | 11 | 12 | .. | .. | 48 |
| Tabor College | 12 | 11 | 11 | 13 | .. | .. | 47 |
| Herbert Bible School | .. | 6 | 10 | 17 | .. | .. | 33 |
| Total | 168 | 221 | 188 | 229 | 334 | 184 | 1324 |

1 Six weeks Bible School students.
2 Three special students; 17 correspondence students.
3 Correspondence students.
4 Music students.
5 Conservatory students; not of college grade.
6 Five weeks term students.
7 Teacher training students.
8 Special students in Bible.
9 Saskatchewan has a three year high school. Fourth year students take College freshman work.

## Table IV

### Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges 1941-42

| Denomination | E. M. S. | Goshen | Bethel | Hesston | Tabor | Bluffton | Freeman | Ger. Eng. | Oklahoma | M. C. I. | Immanuel | Zoar | Herbert | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Old) Mennonites | 404 | 341 | 5 | 239 | ... | 5 | ... | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 994 |
| General Conference | ... | 4 | 306 | 21 | 4 | 101 | 100 | 84 | 91 | 41 | .. | 5 | 1 | 758 |
| Mennonite Brethren | ... | ... | 8 | ... | 109 | ... | 6 | 12 | .. | 36 | 47 | 11 | 31 | 260 |
| Krimmer Menn. Brethren | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 18 | ... | 15 | ... | ... | .. | 8 | 39 | .. | 81 |
| Central Conference | ... | 16 | ... | ... | ... | 16 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 32 |
| Amish Mennonite | 29 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 29 |
| Evangelical Menn. Brethren | ... | ... | 3 | ... | 12 | ... | ... | ... | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 17 |
| Menn. Brethren in Christ | 1 | 12 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 15 |
| Defenseless Mennonite | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 10 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 |
| Kleine Gemeinde | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 |
| Mennonites Unclassified | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 |
| Sonnenberg | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Sommerfelder | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| | 435 | 374 | 323 | 262 | 151 | 132 | 129 | 100 | 93 | 77 | 55 | 55 | 32 | 2218 |

## Table V

### Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges 1941-42

| Denomination | Bethel | Goshen | Bluffton | Corn | Tabor | Freeman | Hesston | E. M. S. | Ger.-Eng. | M. C. I. | Zoar | Herbert | Oklahoma | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not given | 70 | 17 | 10 | 68 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 165 |
| Methodist | 26 | 36 | 37 | .. | .. | 1 | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 107 |
| Presbyterian | 12 | 9 | 18 | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 41 |
| Brethren | 3 | 33 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 37 |
| Baptist | 9 | 3 | 12 | .. | 10 | .. | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 36 |
| Non Church members | 10 | 4 | ... | .. | 11 | 1 | 4 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 33 |
| Evangelical | 6 | 7 | 7 | .. | 4 | .. | 4 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 30 |
| Lutheran | 1 | 5 | 7 | .. | .. | 7 | .. | .. | 2 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | 26 |
| United Brethren | 1 | 7 | 14 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 23 |
| Roman Catholic | 8 | 4 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 16 |
| Christian | 7 | 4 | ... | .. | .. | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 13 |
| Reformed | ... | 2 | 8 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 |
| Church of God | ... | 2 | 4 | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 9 |
| Church of Christ | 1 | ... | 5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 |
| Congregational | 2 | 4 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 |
| Chr. Missionary Alliance | ... | ... | 5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 |
| Episcopal | 2 | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 |
| Community | ... | ... | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Congregational Christian | ... | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Friends | 1 | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Greek Catholic | ... | ... | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Nazarene | 2 | ... | ... | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Brethren in Christ | ... | 3 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| 7th Day Adventist | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Methodist Protestant | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | 2 |
| Christian Science | ... | ... | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Church of Christ in God | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Disciples of Christ | ... | ... | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Evangelical Reformed | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Interdenominational | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | 1 |
| United Church of Canada | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| United Presbyterian | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| | 164 | 145 | 141 | 68 | 26 | 17 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 600 |

## Table VI

STATES, PROVINCES AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1941-42

| | E. M. S. | Goshen | Bethel | Hesston | Tabor | Bluffton | Freeman | German English | Oklahoma | M. C. I. | Immanuel | Zoar | Herbert | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kansas | ... | 5 | 249 | 127 | 90 | ... | ... | ... | 21 | .. | 1 | 55 | .. | 548 |
| Pennsylvania | 176 | 28 | ... | 3 | ... | 16 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 223 |
| Ohio | 21 | 97 | 2 | 4 | ... | 85 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 209 |
| Indiana | 6 | 168 | ... | 1 | ... | 13 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 188 |
| Virginia | 168 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 168 |
| South Dakota | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 122 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 127 |
| Saskatchewan | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 91 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 31 | 125 |
| Oklahoma | 1 | ... | 14 | 4 | 22 | ... | ... | ... | 62 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 103 |
| Manitoba | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 74 | .. | .. | .. | 74 |
| California | 1 | ... | 4 | ... | 7 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | .. | 53 | .. | .. | 66 |
| Illinois | 2 | 38 | ... | 8 | ... | 7 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 55 |
| Nebraska | ... | 2 | 19 | 13 | 9 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 43 |
| Iowa | 4 | 14 | 2 | 20 | ... | 2 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 42 |
| Oregon | 2 | 5 | ... | 33 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 41 |
| Minnesota | ... | ... | 9 | 7 | 9 | 3 | 2 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 30 |
| Maryland | 20 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 21 |
| Michigan | 12 | 4 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 19 |
| Missouri | 2 | 2 | 2 | 13 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 19 |
| Montana | ... | ... | 3 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 5 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 17 |
| Colorado | ... | 2 | ... | 12 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 14 |
| Ontario | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 2 | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | 13 |
| Texas | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 9 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 |
| Idaho | ... | 1 | 7 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 11 |
| Alberta | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 10 |
| New York | 9 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 |
| India | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 |
| North Dakota | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 |
| Delaware | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 |
| Washington | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| West Virginia | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Argentina | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| British Columbia | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| China | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | 2 |
| Arkansas | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Dist. of Columbia | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Paraguay | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Wisconsin | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| | 435 | 374 | 323 | 262 | 151 | 132 | 129 | 100 | 93 | 77 | 55 | 55 | 32 | 2218 |

## Table VII

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1941-42

| | Bethel | Goshen | Bluffton | Corn | Tabor | Freeman | Hesston | E. M. S. | Ger.-Eng. | M. C. I. | Zoar | Herbert | Oklahoma | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not given | 80 | ... | 10 | 68[1] | ... | ... | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 159 |
| Indiana | ... | 132 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 132 |
| Ohio | ... | 1 | 122 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 123 |
| Kansas | 78 | 1 | ... | ... | 23 | ... | 14 | .. | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. | 119 |
| South Dakota | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 17 |
| Pennsylvania | ... | 5 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 |
| Saskatchewan | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 7 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 8 |
| New York | 1 | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 |
| Manitoba | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | .. | 4 |
| Illinois | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Iowa | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Nebraska | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Maryland | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| Arizona | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Brazil | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| British Columbia | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| California | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Michigan | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Mississippi | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| North Dakota | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Oklahoma | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 1 |
| Tennessee | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Virginia | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| | 164 | 145 | 141 | 68 | 26 | 17 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 600 |

[1] Statistics not given; some probably Mennonites.

## Table VIII

MENNONITE STUDENTS OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1941-42

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bethel | 133 | 190 | 323 |
| Goshen | 126 | 176 | 302 |
| Tabor | 57 | 54 | 111 |
| Bluffton | 50 | 48 | 98 |
| E. M. S. | 30 | 46 | 76 |
| Hesston | 37 | 38 | 75 |
| Freeman | 22 | 30 | 52 |
| M. C. I. | 16 | 14 | 30 |
| | 457 | 560 | 1151[1] |

[1] Does not include German-English Academy where detailed statistics were not given.

## Table IX

### Mennonite Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1941-42

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| E. M. S. | 139 | 220 | 359 |
| Hesston | 79 | 108 | 187 |
| German-English[1] | 59 | 41 | 100 |
| Oklahoma | .. | .. | 93[2] |
| Freeman | 31 | 45 | 77[3] |
| Goshen | 32 | 40 | 72 |
| Immanuel | 25 | 30 | 55 |
| Zoar | 25 | 30 | 55 |
| M. C. I. | 36 | 11 | 47 |
| Tabor | 18 | 22 | 40 |
| Herbert | 22 | 10 | 32 |
| Bluffton | 3 | 22 | 34[4] |
| | 386 | 509 | 1067 |

1 In Table II, 34 of these students are listed as college freshmen.
2 Detailed statistics not given.
3 Statistics not given for one student.
4 Detailed statistics not given for 9 students.

## Table X

### Summer Session, 1941, Mennonite Schools and Colleges

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bethel | 24 | 79 | 103 |
| Goshen | 30 | 67 | 97[1] |
| Bluffton | 23 | 36 | 59 |
| | 77 | 182 | 259[2] |

1 26 in six weeks spring term; 71 in nine weeks summer session.
2 Including duplicates with the regular school year.

## Table XI

### Total Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1941-42

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Goshen | 229 | 290 | 519 |
| Bethel | 161 | 256 | 487[1] |
| E. M. S. | 174 | 268 | 442 |
| Hesston | 126 | 152 | 278 |
| Bluffton | 124 | 149 | 273 |
| Tabor | 89 | 88 | 177 |
| Freeman | 59 | 87 | 146 |
| German-English | 65 | 42 | 107 |
| Oklahoma | .. | .. | 94[2] |
| M. C. I. | 55 | 26 | 81 |
| Corn | .. | .. | 68[2] |
| Zoar | 26 | 32 | 58 |
| Immanuel | 25 | 30 | 55 |
| Herbert | 22 | 11 | 33 |
| | 1155 | 1431 | 2818 |

1 Total including 70 non-credit music students.
2 Detailed statistics not given.

## Table XII

### Comparative Enrollment Statistics, 1928-1942

| Year | Mennonite | Non-Mennonite | College | Academy | Bible | Other Depts. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1928-29 | 1025 | 513 | 847 | 569 | ... | 122 | 1538 |
| 1929-30 | 1259 | 708 | 1085 | 609 | ... | 273 | 1967 |
| 1930-31 | 1515 | 665 | 1234 | 710 | 110 | 126 | 2180 |
| 1931-32 | 1337 | 591 | 944 | 522 | 259 | 203 | 1928 |
| 1932-33 | 1135 | 538 | 906 | 416 | 277 | 74 | 1673 |
| 1933-34 | 1259 | 476 | 921 | 348 | 402 | 64 | 1735 |
| 1934-35 | 1742 | 530 | 1025 | 550 | 502 | 195 | 2272 |
| 1935-36 | 2274 | 574 | 1151 | 1050 | 470 | 177 | 2848 |
| 1936-37 | 2640 | 496 | 1242 | 948 | 800 | 146 | 3136 |
| 1937-38 | 2258 | 680 | 1431 | 821 | 542 | 144 | 2938 |
| 1938-39 | 2221 | 586 | 1447 | 690 | 530 | 140 | 2807 |
| 1939-40 | 2164 | 628 | 1560 | 808 | 308 | 116 | 2792 |
| 1940-41 | 2101 | 608 | 1581 | 688 | 343 | 97 | 2709 |
| 1941-42 | 2218 | 600 | 1494 | 887 | 294 | 143 | 2818 |

## Table XIII

### Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1941-42

| Title | Goshen | Bethel | Bluffton | E. M. S. | Tabor | Freeman | Hesston | Ger.-Eng. | M. C. I. | Oklahoma | Herbert | Immanuel | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. A. | 35 | 42 | 32 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 109 |
| B. S. in Education | 21 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 24 |
| Th. B. | 4 | .. | .. | 5 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 |
| B. S. in Home Economics | .. | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 |
| B. of Music | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 |
| B. S. in Industrial Arts | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| B. S. in Commerce and Educ. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| B. R. E. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Junior College | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 7 | 8 | 11 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 33 |
| Two year normal | 7 | .. | .. | 4 | 12 | 9 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 32 |
| Junior College Bible | 1 | .. | .. | 6 | .. | .. | 5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12[1] |
| Diploma in Theology | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| Music Certificate | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| One year normal | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 39 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 39 |
| One year Secretarial | 8 | .. | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 |
| Academy | .. | .. | .. | 47 | 10 | 11 | 35 | 31 | 28 | 7 | .. | .. | 169 |
| Elementary Bible (3 years) | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | .. | 13 |
| High School Bible (2 years) | .. | .. | .. | 20 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 11 | 12 | 49 |
| Elementary Bible (1 year) | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 22 | .. | 22 |
| Winter Bible School Diplomas | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 15 |
| Totals | 84 | 54 | 36 | 89 | 44 | 67 | 51 | 38 | 28 | 13 | 43 | 12 | 559 |

[1] Called a Christian Workers course at Hesston and at Goshen.

# REVIEWS AND NOTES

## A NEW EDITION OF THE HUTTERIAN CHRONICLE

The Review is happy to give its support to the new edition of the Hutterian *Geschicht-Buch* which will soon be published by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa., and presents herewith a brief descriptive statement of the publishing project based on a prospectus furnished by Dr. A. E. Zucker, Director of Research of the Foundation. Advance orders for the new book may be placed with the Review at the pre-publication price.—Editor.

The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, in conjunction with the American Council of Learned Societies, has undertaken the publication of a new edition of the *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* first edited by Prof. Rudolph Wolkan of Vienna, and published by the Hutterian Brethren at Macleod, Alberta, in 1923, but for some years out of print. It will bear the title *The Hutterian Chronicle*, and will be edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by Professor A. J. F. Zieglschmid, Associate Professor of German at Northwestern University, who has used the original manuscript of the book now in possession of the Hutterian Brethren at Bon Homme, South Dakota, and, with the consent of the elders, has prepared a diplomatic or letter-perfect text for publication in a limited edition of 1,000 copies. The usefulness of the edition will be enhanced by notes on both historical and linguistic points, a glossary of unusual words, an index, and twenty plates of reproductions of pages from the manuscript. The published price will be $10.00 with an advance sale pre-publication price of $7.50.

This work records the history of the Hutterian Brethren from their origin in Zurich, Switzerland in 1527 to the year 1665. (For a good history of the group see John Horsch: *The Hutterian Brethren 1528-1931, published by the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College*, 1931). The *Chronicle* accompanied the Hutterites through more than 300 years of wanderings due to religious persecutions, from Moravia through Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and South Russia, to the United States, where the first colony was founded in South Dakota in 1874. The group now has grown to over 6,000 souls divided among five colonies in South Dakota, and forty-six in western Canada. The *Chronicle* relates the harrowing experiences of the Hutterites as a whole, together with the suffering and death of some of their martyrs, of whom there were not less than 2,175. It is a document of intense human interest.

The *Chronicle* is of interest to several types of scholars. The *church historian* finds the *Chronicle* a veritable wellspring of rich source material, indicated by names occurring in it, such as: Georg Blaurock, Conrad Grebel, Hans Hut, Leonhart Kaiser, Luther, Zwingli, etc. The *general historian* will be interested in detailed descriptions of many historical events, since the Hutterites experienced the intellectual and religious struggle of the Reformation as well as the hardships of the Thirty Years' War, and the Hungarian and Turkish invasion. Among the figures that move across its pages are King Ferdinand II of Bohemia, Bethlen Gabor, von Zierotin,

and Wallenstein, from whom they leased land for colonies and for whom they worked. The *sociologist* and *economist* has in the *Chronicle* an account of the unique social and economic organization of the Hutterites, the oldest communal organization (outside monastic orders) not only in the United States, but in the world. Community of goods based on apostolic principles has been their practice since 1528, for 414 years. The *literary historian* will note that the *Chronicle* casts many revealing sidelights on the literature of the seventeenth century, particularly with regard to Frischlin, Manuel, Rebhun, Wickram, Moscherosch, and Grimmelshausen. The last named writer derived the material for his Utopia in *Simplicissimus* from the Hutterian mode of living (PMLA, LIV, 4, pp. 1031 ff.). The *Chronicle* is more vital and vigorous in style than some others published in the *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart,* such as those of Dreytwein, Oldecop, Hug, or von Zimmern. The *folklorist* is offered source material in the cultural history of Central Europe. The *linguist* interested in Early New High German (1350-1650) will discover in the text much primary linguistic material in the many problems presented here in historical grammar and lexicography, e.g., a considerable number of words are used in the *Chronicle* that do not occur in Grimm's *Wörterbuch.*

## C. HENRY SMITH'S THE STORY OF THE MENNONITES

*The Story of the Mennonites.* C. Henry Smith, Ph.D., Professor of History, Bluffton College. Published by Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana. (1941) pp. 823. $2.50.

For many years no comprehensive general history of the Mennonites has been available in any language, since the first satisfactory book of its kind, C. Henry Smith's *The Mennonites, A Brief History,* went out of print shortly after it was published in 1920. Now at last the need has been supplied, and in an eminently satisfactory way by Professor Smith's new book, *The Story of the Mennonites,* published in 1941 as an 817 page revision and enlargement of his book of twenty years ago. The productions of the able pen of this dean of American Mennonite historians are always looked forward to, and this time again, the rather long wait was well rewarded. Dr. Smith has given us, as probably the crowning volume of his long career, a scholarly, well-written, and readable history of the Mennonites, the best, we dare say, which has been written to date in any language.

In giving this book its high rank in Mennonite historiography, we have in mind the many difficulties with which the Mennonite historian must cope. His source material, if he would do original research, lies in three languages, English, German, and Dutch, mostly in the latter two. His background material must be sought over three continents, Europe, Asia, and America, and through more than four centuries, as well as among widely diversified religious, political, social, and cultural milieus. His theological problems are not slight, for he must be familiar not only with the Catholic and Protestant theology of the Reformation, but with other movements which have influenced some Mennonite groups such as Socinianism, Calvinism, Pietism, Baptism, and Modernism, to say nothing of the entire field of unsystematized Anabaptist-Mennonite theology. He is handicapped by the lack of an adequate body of monographic treatments of local, regional, and topical materials of all types which are normally available to the general historian who seeks to cover a broad field. And finally he is torn between the desire to

write a popular book for the masses of his own people who will not and cannot read too learned treatises, and the desire to serve his colleagues in the field of historical study with the best in scientific scholarship. To master these problems, not only is sound learning necessary, but with it the gift of good writing. Both of these gifts Professor Smith possesses and has used effectively to produce a splendid work, one of whose chief excellences is its easy, readable style. He is a good story-teller, with an eye for the main outlines of the tale, and for the elements of permanent human interest.

Described by the author as "largely a revision and enlargement" of his earlier book, *The Mennonites,* the new volume, twice the size of the former, follows for the most part the older volume's organization, allocation of space, and major emphasis, adding the story of the period between the two world wars, and including the results of much recent research. Roughly two-thirds of the book is devoted to Europe, one-third to America. The most extensive single discussion is that devoted to the Mennonites in Russia, due largely to the extended discussion of the "World War and After" of over fifty pages, which makes this Russian chapter three times the size of the one in the old book. The chapters on the Netherlands and the Hutterites have also tripled in size, in contrast to an average doubling of chapter length.

The organization of material is regional rather than chronological for Europe, and the reverse for America. Following an eighty-six page discussion of the (chiefly Swiss) Anabaptists, and a thirty-one page biography of Menno Simons, the major Mennonite regions are treated. Switzerland, Netherlands, Around the Southern Baltic (partly a misnomer since it includes northwest Germany), the South Germans, the Hutterites, and Russia, follow in order. This method has the advantage of unifying the treatment of each region and permitting a follow-through from the beginning, and since each regional group of European Mennonites has remained relatively separate from all the rest it is probably the best. It has the disadvantage of not bringing out sufficiently clearly the interrelations between the groups, and the relation of all the groups to contemporary European developments, and thus not setting Mennonite history most effectively in the background of the general movements of culture and theology of the times. In the American section, Professor Smith takes up first the pioneer settlements and their expansion before 1800, then developments in the nineteenth century, and lastly the migrations to North and South America following the first world war. He selects two topics out of the nineteenth century for separate treatment, the coming of the Russian Mennonites to America in the eighteen seventies, and the history of the General Conference of Mennonites of North America, founded in 1860. Two final chapters, "Culture and Progress," and "Keeping the Faith," treat topically of such matters as confessions of faith, church government, education, missions, literature, hymnology, church and state, and finally the experiences of Mennonites in the practice of the principle of nonresistance, and bring out the author's sincere concern for an effective maintenance of the nonresistant faith.

The problem of satisfying all parties with objective and fair treatment of the various schisms which have occurred among the Mennonites in Europe and America is a difficult one, but the author's desire to be just and sympathetic is evident and he has succeeded well, probably as well as can be expected. To the reviewers the allocation of space to the two major American groups (1860-1940), the Old Mennonites (11 pages) and the General Con-

ference Mennonites (22 pages), does not seem quite in balance, but that is not so important. More important is the fact that the author seems to have most hope for the future of American Mennonitism in following the line taken by the General Conference group. Some readers will be inclined to believe that he has overrated the possibilities here, and underrated the weaknesses, particularly such as have appeared in times when outstanding Mennonite principles, such as nonresistance, come under test. There are many who will hold that the soundest promise for the future of American, indeed of world, Mennonitism, lies not with the "liberals" (Professor Smith classifies all Mennonite groups into liberals, moderates, and conservatives) but with the moderates with their stronger group solidarity, their greater steadfastness under test, their deeper sense of historical tradition, and their stronger resistance to "worldly" influences. But this is of course a matter of judgment.

A more important question which might be raised about Mennonite history writing, is whether it should not do more than Professor Smith does in penetrating beneath the surface into the inner life of the group through the centuries. Perhaps we should be satisfied with the splendid work which the author has done in pioneering, in developing the general framework for Mennonite history, and giving us a good general story, and expect the next generation of historians to go further. If so, these suggestions will apply more to others than to the author, who has, it is true, touched on this general theme at various places. What we are asking for is more interpretation of the essence of Mennonitism and the changes in its content which have taken place through the centuries under the impact of the changing environment; more of what has happened to the soul, such as changes in piety, in ethics, in basic attitudes; in other words, more of the history of ideas or inner history. Along with this we would like to see a more penetrating exposition of theological character, types, and trends, as well as of sociological forms and problems. For instance, to know what both rural life and urbanization have done to the Mennonite soul in Europe and America is perhaps even more important than to know that Mennonites have been good farmers. Whether higher education has damaged or aided the Mennonite faith is more important than the usual data given about Mennonite colleges. What has happened to the "brotherhood" ideal in Mennonitism through the ages? What is the breaking down of the old barriers, which have protected Mennonites in the past, doing to the modern Mennonite church? The work along these lines done in recent years by such scholars as Dr. Winfield Fretz, Dr. G. F. Hershberger, and Dr. Robert Friedmann, illustrates this point, particularly Dr. Friedmann's study on the relations between Anabaptism, Pietism, and Mennonitism published recently in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*.

Parallel to this comment, it seems to the reviewers that although the author gives in general and at various places a good description of Anabaptist and Mennonite principles, it would have been advisable to give a more thorough and systematic description of the basic principles of Anabaptist faith and life. Nowhere does the author give an analytically complete exposition of Anabaptist doctrine, principles, and piety. There is not even a statement of the contents of the justly famed "Seven Articles of Schleitheim" of 1527. The same is true of the discussion of Anabaptist-Mennonite social ethics. A comprehensive and detailed analysis of the way of life which the Mennonites have stood for, and an interpretation of their inward experience and its re-

lation to outward conduct would have been most helpful.

On a few minor points the reviewers also have questions, some of which involve differences in interpretation, some a matter of emphasis, and some few matters of fact.

For instance, while the general description of the Anabaptists is good, there is possibly too much emphasis on the "individual conscience" as the dominant idea,—for instance on page 12, and again, on "extreme individualism," on page 596, the latter given as the major cause for divisions. It is true that emphasis was placed upon the individual's conscience by Anabaptism, but just as much emphasis was placed upon the community and upon group solidarity and discipline. In fact, the latter was probably more prominent than the former, and divisions were caused more often by the unwillingness of a group to tolerate individual differences than the opposite. The reviewers feel that the major emphasis in Anabaptist thinking was on the commitment of the individual to the new and holy life of brotherhood, not on the right for each to choose individualistically his own thought and pattern of living. The central place of the church and the brotherhood in all Anabaptist groups, and among most Mennonites down to the present time certainly points toward a different understanding of the individual conscience than that of idealistic liberalism; the freeing of the conscience from the state and placing it under the sole sovereignty of God is the great emphasis of Anabaptism in regard to conscience.

Professor Smith does well to point out clearly that Hubmaier was not a true Anabaptist, but he errs in calling Hans Denk "the greatest of all the South German Anabaptists," (p. 39). The reviewers seriously question this evaluation of Denk. In fact, it is an open question whether Denk was a genuine Anabaptist at all, or whether he should not rather be classed among the "Spiritists" according to Alfred Hegler's classification. Before he died Hans Denk declared that he regretted that he ever baptized anyone, and minimized the outward application of Anabaptist principles. He was a mystic and thinker of high character and fine personality, but too much of a speculative individualist to make a true Anabaptist, and after his brief contact with the movement at Augsburg he made no further contribution to it. The "greatest of all the South German Anabaptists" was certainly Pilgram Marpeck, and yet Marpeck receives inadequate treatment in a brief biography (marred by errors), and for which the author does not seem to have made use of the latest material on Marpeck by John C. Wenger in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for 1938. A discussion of Marpeck's two great books would have been highly desirable, but neither are mentioned by title and the greatest of all Anabaptist books outside of Menno Simons, the *Verantwortung,* is overlooked. By contrast, undue space and emphasis is given to Hans Hut. Michael Sattler also comes too short.

When it comes to American Mennonite History, the author usually treats the various Mennonite groups with sympathy and understanding, but occasionally gives his descriptions a "slant" which sounds "out of line." He is inclined to do this when referring to certain groups which practice what he calls a more "emotional" type of piety, and when he uses simple generalizations to describe phenomena which are far more complex and many-sided than the simple terms can express. Also in the description of the Old Order Amish too much attention is paid to their oddities (pages 634-6), (although we know the author has appreciation for the Amish), and not enough at-

tention is given to a constructive description of their way of life in the manner and spirit which John Umble has so well illustrated in his Amish studies.

A few other minor points might be noted. The Danzig World Mennonite conference, described on pages 521-23, was held in August of 1930, after the movement of Russian refugees to South America was substantially completed, and did not discuss the question of destination of the 4,000 refugees, who had already left Germany. One of the chief obstacles to the colonization of all these refugees in Canada and Brazil was the rigid prohibition of entrance of all persons having the eye disease of trachoma. Hence for most of the refugees it was not a matter of choosing Paraguay (page 525), but rather, of Paraguay being the only place of refuge. The movement of Mennonites to the Chaco may have been one of the causes of the Chaco war between Paraguay and Bolivia (page 524), but the primary cause was the long continued boundary dispute, and the desire of Bolivia for an outlet on the Paraguay river; the Mennonite influence was minor. The Chaco territory in which the Mennonites settled is not "swampy and salty" (page 730), but is dry, and only the territory near the Paraguay and the Pilcomayo rivers is swampy. The colonists had been equipped with all the necessary tools (page 730) and agricultural equipment in Europe and were sent to Paraguay with a full complement of what was necessary to begin farming, even to the barbed wire for fencing. The local government of the Fernheim colony was not achieved "after several unsatisfactory experiments" (page 735) but was chosen by the colonists before they left Europe, and was patterned after the prevailing practice in Russia. Groups of refugees were organized into villages with their "Schulzes" before they left Europe. Even the colony "Oberschulz" was elected in Europe. It is not correct to say that "the central authorities assumed arbitrary power," since the colony was a genuine democracy with every family head voting in the colony assembly from which the colony officials received all the power they had.

The careful reader will note minor errors, including some in proofreading and punctuation. The misspellings of proper names, such as for instance Weirhof for Weierhof, Gobel for Goebel, Regensberg, for Regensburg, Schwaertdler for Schwertler, and an error such as Rotenburg and Rothenburg for Rottenburg or Rattenburg should be corrected for the sake of the student reader. Also placing the baptism of Menno Simons at Groningen at the end of 1536 instead of at Leeuwarden in January, 1535, or putting the death of Marpeck in 1546 instead of 1551, might cause trouble for future students.

Dr. Smith's 1920 book was enriched by forty-five illustrations, and a chapter of Mennonite statistics, and a bibliography. Unfortunately the 1941 volume eliminates the statistics and the bibliography altogether, and cuts the pictures to nine. The loss of the bibliography is most to be regretted, because, in spite of the author's suggestion that interested persons may find the titles they desire in the printed catalogs of the various Mennonite Libraries, this is almost impossible. There are only two printed catalogs, those of Scottdale and Amsterdam, and both catalogs are out of print, and are very poorly organized, with no indexes. A bibliography of selected titles would have been a great service to the many readers of the volume who desire information for further study of Mennonite history. The index is a welcome addition in the 1941 volume, but is not sufficiently exhaustive; for instance, "Marpeck" is not to be found in it. We sincerely hope that Dr. Smith will

let himself be persuaded to include a bibliography, latest statistics, and an improved index in the next edition.

But we would not have these minor errors obscure the general excellence of the volume. At last we have again a Mennonite history which can be commended to all with the confidence that it gives the best story of the Mennonites through the centuries and around the world that has yet been made available. We congratulate our good friend, Professor Smith, and hope the sales of his book will be such as soon to require a second and improved edition.

Harold S. Bender, Goshen College; Ernst Correll, American University.

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## ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

(Continued from page 247)

ciple of conscientious objection to war. A conclusion of my study is this, that the factors requisite to the conservation of our peace testimony are the very same factors which serve to maintain and enrich our entire Mennonite culture—nonresistance, simple life, mutual aid, emphasis on New Testament orthodoxy. The influences damaging our nonresistant stand are the same factors which undermine our total Mennonite heritage. In its broader aspect this is a study of the factors essential to the preservation of the whole Mennonite way of life.

As a group the Mennonites may profit by the experience of this war. By it we are made aware of the areas of disintegration in our Mennonite culture; but also through this crisis we are rediscovering our Mennonite heritage.

# THE MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW

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